THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

密勒氏評論報

A Weekly Newspaper Established In 1917

March 19, 1949

BELATED REFORM

AN EDITORIAL

A Chinese View Of American Aid

C. Y. W. Meng

Changing Conditions In Amoy

Lin Chen-keng

Japanese Philosophy And Politics

Joshua W. K. Liao

US LOAN FOR SPAIN?

AN EDITORIAL

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LETTERS From The People

Comments from readers on current topics are cordially invited: their opinions, however, do not necessarily represent the views of The China Weekly Review.

White Chinese

To The Editor:

The KMT leaders and wealthy people who have sought refugee here are ironically called "White Chinese" in progressive Chinese circles. Most of them came here when the Hsuchow campaign was in progress and it looked as if the Nanking Government would be overthrown overnight. Local reporters estimate that there are from six to seven thousand of these refugees here.

Among the high ranking officials, there are T. V. Soong; Chang Li-shen, one of the CC leaders and a member of the Executive Yuan; Wu Ting-chang, former secretary general of the President; Wei Tao-ming, former governor of Taiwan; Lee Shek-cheng, member of the KMT Central Executive Committee; General Lun Yung, Yunnan warlord; General Hwang Chi-hsiang, former chief of the Chinese Military mission in Germany; Sheng Chun-lien, former secretary general to Mayor K. C. Wu; and Yang Shou-cheng, chief justice of the Nanking local court.

Legislative Yuan members in Hongkong include: Wu Shiang-ying, Sun Fo's man; Yu Yu-shu, member of the PCC; King Chen-yu, Yu's wife; Tung Chi-shin; Tai Ti-wu; and Chow Yi-tze, who is also editor of the exiled magazine *Reconstruction*.

There are also a number of KMT propaganda people here, including Tao She-sheng, vice minister of the Propaganda Department of the Central Headquarters of the KMT; Jimmy Wei, former head of the Shanghai office of the CGIO; Teng You-teh, director of the CGIO and Chen Min-teh, publisher of the *Hsin Min Pao*.

Many others are still on the mainland, but their families are here making preparations for their eventual arrival. Owing to the rush for accommodations, rents and prices for houses and land have soared and construction materials are also increasing. All the nice houses in famous districts such as Kowloon Tong in Kowloon and Courseway Bay in Hongkong have already been taken over by these newcomers. (People like Sun Fo, Ho Ying-ching, Chang Fa-kwei and Chang Chung, of course, were far sighted enough to have built houses in Hongkong long before the flood of exiles.)

Also of interest is the fact that the coming of these wealthy Shanghailanders has brought a sudden turn of prosperity for the good hotels, dancing halls, bars and restaurants here. A number of stores are advertising for girl clerks who can speak Shanghai dialect, and the dancing halls likewise are hiring hostesses from Shanghai.

L. FISHER.

Hongkong
March 4, 1949

Life In Prison

To The Editor:

I was one of the 39 university students who were arrested in Nanking in the small hours on the morning of November 26, 1948, when the Battle for Hsuchow was in progress. The arrest was made

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under the pretext of checking the census records. A thorough search of the National Central University was conducted by special service men, in conjunction with police officers and gendarmes. The personal diaries, books and manuscripts of the students were carefully examined and some of them taken away. The warrants for arrest were issued by the military tribunal of Nanking's Garrison Commander Headquarters, but they contained only the names of the persons to be arrested without stating the reasons for the arrest.

After the roundup, we were sent by truck to a farmhouse in a village about 30 li from the city of Nanking. There were four rooms in this house, two being used for the offices of our wardens and the others for our prison cells. There were 39 of us, 24 from the National Central University, eight from Nanking University, four from Chin Kuo College of Law and Commerce, an instructor in philosophy and psychology at Nanking University, a newspaper correspondent, and a former student from the Northwest College of Music. We all had handcuffs on and sat like sardines on the ground in the day time. We did not have any time to move about until meals were served, when our handcuffs were removed. Our food was incredibly bad, coarse rice and tasteless cabbage soup.

At first, we did not know one another well. But gradually we became close friends. Our favorite method of killing time was to discuss things. We held regular meetings to discuss a great variety of subjects—book learning, love-making, how to win friends and get along with people, etc. Sometimes we spent several hours engaging in a serious debate on sharing peanuts or other trifling matters. In fact, we simply enjoyed arguing and talking.

After New Year's Day, there was a radical change in the political situation, and we added political problems to our debating subjects.

Another way of killing time was to do group singing. Our favorite tune was the "March of Democratic Youth," which we called "Our Song."

It is indeed no exaggeration to say that we learned a lot of things in prison. We have been steeled into tough fighters for democracy and we have undergone a profound change in our way of thinking and in our mode of living. We know that we are one of the people. Some students said, not without reason, that their prison life was a blessing in disguise.

The trial of our cases was really interesting and amusing. Our answers to political questions were invariably regarded as unsatisfactory by the military judges. At one time, we were asked what we thought of the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communists. Some of our friends replied that their sympathies were on the side of the Kuomintang. The military judges shook their heads incredulously. Others said they never bothered much about politics and therefore had no opinion of their own on this subject. The military judges readily cut them short, saying this was a very dangerous attitude toward the Government. One student from the National Central University replied: "I heartily supported the view of President Wu Yu-shen that all political parties should withdraw from the schools." The prosecutor hastened to refute him, charging that it was this kind of crazy idea that has made it possible for the Communists to have become so popular and powerful.

Some of the military judges were typical army men. They did not bother much about the legal technicalities involved in the trial. They told us quite bluntly: "No matter what you say, you shall be shot." The president of the military tribunal, an elderly officer, some-

times gave us pep talks. But the way he talked made us laugh. One day he said to us: "I am everything for the Leader. If the Leader wants me to die, I will jump into it even if there is a blazing fire in front of me. If the Leader wants me to surrender, I will become a slave."

When the Government agencies started fleeing to Canton, we were released on January 24, 1949 on bail.

NANKING STUDENT.

Nanking
February 25, 1949

Wants News

To The Editor:

About two months ago I received your expiration notice in Wuhu, but I did not reply because at the time I had to rush to my home in Wuwei in a hurry for fear that communication across the Yangtze might be cut.

I have been a reader of your *Review* for more than two years. However I must now say good-bye with great feeling. Unfortunately, I got T.B. last year and therefore I must give up my work and cannot continue to work for at least a year. My doctor has advised me to go to the country and live quietly. Being a poor teacher I know of no way of supporting myself during this enforced retirement, let alone subscribing to papers and magazines.

Wuwei is a small city along the north bank of the Yangtze and has been liberated by the Liberation Army. We live here as lonely as in a drum, and know nothing of what is going on in the world. Could you be kind enough to send me a free subscription in these unfortunate times?

CHU KUO-CHENG.

Wuwei, Anhwei
March 1, 1949

Straight Views

To The Editor:

I regret that since expiration of my subscription to the *Review* I have not been able to afford a renewal. I am a poor student studying at the Ninhsien district middle school. My tuition fees are paid by my eldest brother, and no money can be spared for a subscription to the *Review*.

I can't help but shed bitter tears at having to say good-bye to the *Review* as I have greatly enjoyed reading the straight views published there. I hope to be a regular reader again when my economic situation improves.

C. K. HU.

Ningpo, Chekiang
February 20, 1949

(A three months free subscription is being sent to Mr. Chu and Mr. Hu through the generosity of a reader in the United States—Editor.)

Any Spare Copies?

To The Editor:

Again I appeal to you in the hope that you may introduce me to one of your subscribers who is willing to share his copy of the *Review* after he has finished it every week.

I can't afford to buy your *Review* every week. For more than three weeks I have missed reading it. Of course I know that the price of each copy has been reduced to the minimum and therefore I know that I can't hope to have you reduce the price any further. Consequently, I hope that you can give me the name and address of one of your kind subscribers who is willing to share his magazine and I will write to him and ask for his help. I promise I will re-

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C. L. NIEH.

Chiaotung University
Shanghai
March 10, 1949

Against Extremism

To The Editor:

The Communist blacklist of KMT war criminals has aroused attention in both the East and West. Looking at it from the viewpoint of a revolutionist, tolerance would mean compromise, and compromise would mean reaction. Therefore, even the Chinese Communists themselves would not dare say anything against it.

However, from the viewpoint of the common people, especially the Chinese people, who have been taught for thousands of years to love rather than to hate, this step is too extreme. The terrorism in Russia has alarmed the world in general. They have set most of the peoples in the world against them. Furthermore, conditions in China are quite different. We have no peasant slaves. We do not have many capitalists. The so-called bureaucratic capitalists are just fools who have let go of the golden chance to serve their country merely to enrich themselves. They are too low and too few to justify lengthening the Civil War. As for the KMT military leaders, they are now willing to sue for peace. Why not give them a chance by fair play?

Therefore, in talking about peace our Chinese Communists should not throw such a big obstacle in its path. Both parties should get rid of their suspicion and distrust.

The *Review* of January 29 clearly pointed out that the war will go on, Most people also think this to be true. But it will be going on entirely against the will of the people.

CHENG WEI-LUNG

Changteh, Hunan
February 17, 1949

Promises

To The Editor:

Before the Kuomintang ruled this nation, in order to get the support of the people, they made many promises. They spoke of the realization of the Three Principles of the People, and the improvement of the people's livelihood. Since then, 37 years have elapsed, and facts prove that all their promises were empty.

Now the situation has changed, and it appears that the Communists will take over in the near future. They are also making many promises to the people. Judging from past experience, I am really puzzled as to whether the Communists will keep their word, once they sit in the driver's seat.

Y. J. SHENG.

Shanghai
March 5, 1949

Wants Reforms

To The Editor:

It is more than two months since the first news of peace talks was heard; what has been going on between the KMT and the Communists? At first, General Mao proposed eight terms and the Government accepted all except the first—punishment of war criminals—which they considered too cruel.

The people are tired of fighting and are looking forward to bright news about peace. The situation today is like the days of the Political Consultative Committee meeting in Chungking just after VJ Day. At that time the Nationalists were in a position of power and would not make concessions to the Communists and the result was that the war spread. But now? They have been defeated by the Communists chiefly because they lost the people's trust. Whoever loses the people's support will be ruined.

It is impossible to unify a country by military means alone. Therefore, I advise the Communist Party not to rest until they have brought about the political and economic reforms which they have advocated, for it is only with the introduction of these reforms that the people can have any real peace and happiness.

P. W.

Soochow
March 3, 1949

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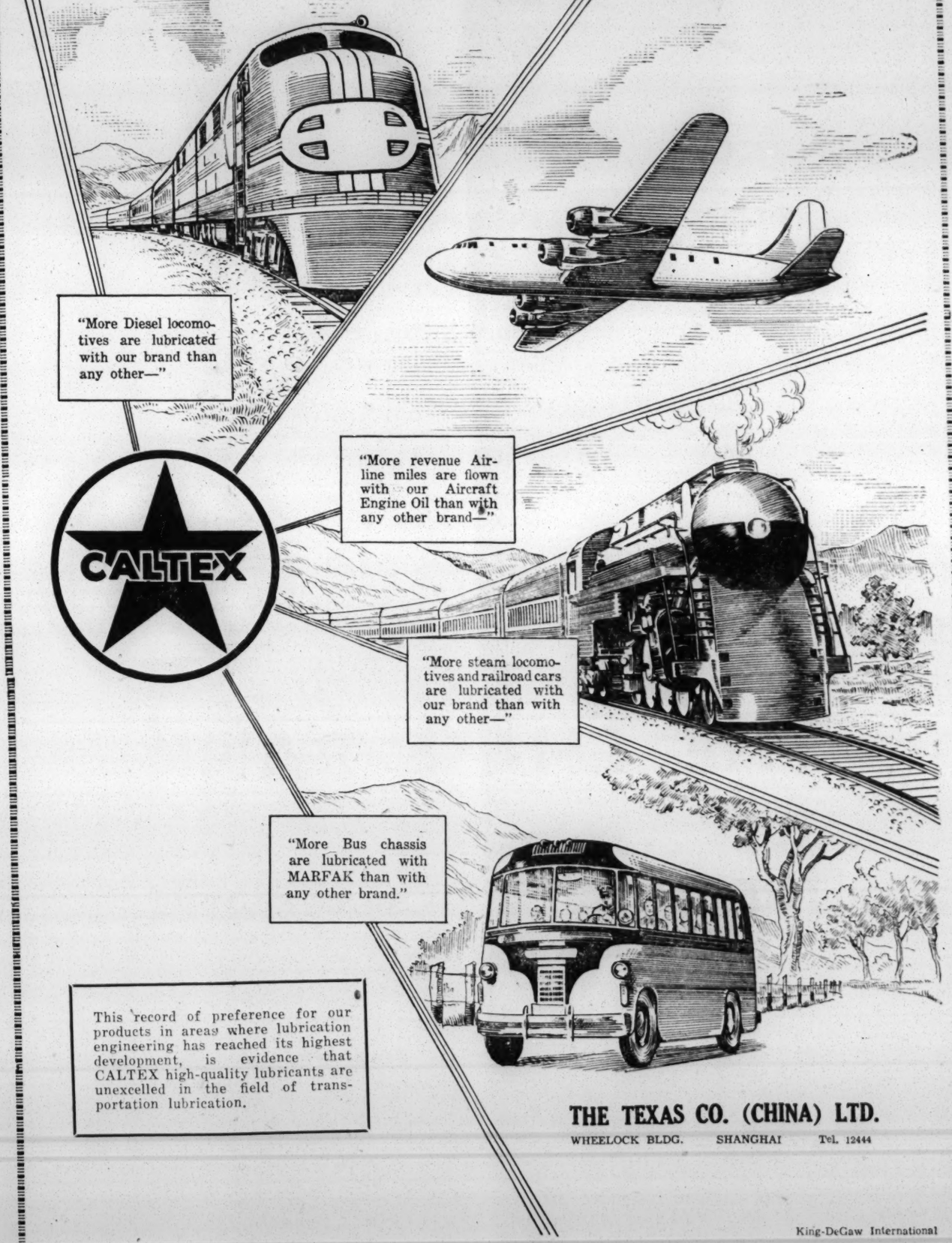

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Belated Reform

THERE is usually something rather tragic about the reform measures which are issued by various agencies of the Government at irregular intervals. Whenever the Government finds itself in hot water, or whenever it wishes to make an impression upon the people, either here or abroad, its ministries and other departments produce for public consumption complete plans for "improving" some aspect of life.

This periodic performance would provide material for an interesting psychological study if one had the time and inclination to investigate into what makes the average bureaucrat tick. At the very least, the men who day in and day out spend their greatest energies in perfecting and enriching their political machines and who then upon occasion draw up plans for abolishing all that they themselves stand for, must suffer from at least a slight case of split personality, unless, of course, they are complete hypocrites.

The greatest single problem in this country is that of the land system. The vast majority of the other evils in present day Chinese society stem from the archaic land system. The basic nature of this problem, which involves not only such matters as land ownership, tenancy practices, and methods of tax collection, but also the very social organization of the rural areas, makes it one of the most difficult to tackle unless one is willing to upset the whole existing economic, political, and social order. This fact has been realized by many officials and, quite likely, is largely responsible for their desire to do nothing about the problem.

Thus, for twenty odd years the Government has generally neglected the sorry conditions existing in the rural areas. A few pitiful attempts—somewhat similar to the present effort being undertaken by the Joint Sino-American Rural Reconstruction Commission — have been made in the past. However, in all cases they have avoided tangling horns with fundamentals. Such programs, for one thing, have never been very extensive, being limited to model districts or experimental farms. Generally, these efforts at reform, imposed from the top down because that was easier and safer than attempting to enlighten and organize the peasantry, have undertaken to improve farm conditions by increasing the material wealth of the area without attacking the social evils which have brought about the present material impoverishment. Furthermore, such programs have usually relied heavily upon outside money, outside machinery, outside fertilizer, outside medicine, outside technicians and so on, failing to realize that no small social unit can support such expensive additions unless there is a basic reorganization of the society. Thus, many of these model districts have depended year in and year out upon funds pumped in from outside the community.

Realizing dimly that the combined social, economic and political system in force throughout most of rural China might result in popular upheavals, the KMT has spent considerable energy during the last two decades in attempting to strengthen the administrative machinery which keeps this system functioning. The power of the machinery has been increased whenever and wherever possible.

In a move aimed at diverting attention from this rotten core of Chinese society, the ruling powers have worked hard to prove that the evil did not exist. Numerous studies of rural conditions have been made and figures produced to show that things were not too bad. One such example "proved" by the proper juxtaposition of figures (the reliability of which are open to question), that tenancy was no greater in China than in America. Even if such a statement were true, it completely overlooks the political and social aspects which help make life such a dreary affair for the average Chinese farmer.

It would seem safe to say that, throughout the years, the Government has moved farther and farther away from this problem, recognizing it only when forced to do so by famine, flood, peasant revolt or some other major catastrophe. Recognition upon such occasions, however, has not brought about any honest or realistic attempt to find a solution, but has resulted rather in added efforts to throw dust in the eyes of observers and a tightening of the machinery of control.

* * *

WITH the benefit of hindsight, it is now possible to see clearly how the Chinese Communists have exploited this situation. By tackling the most basic job in the country they have achieved a double effect. They have laid a sound foundation for their movement and have enlisted as enthusiastic allies the vast majority of the population and, at the same time, have struck at the weakest spot in the KMT armor. During the past three years, which have seen the once mighty Kuomintang reduced to secondary stature, the Government has persisted in blindly following its old bankrupt rural policy, apparently unable to realize that such a path led only to ruin, especially since an armed opponent was successfully challenging its ability to keep the old order intact by force. The decay of the old social system immediately became apparent when the oppressed peasantry began cooperating with the Communists, thus enabling a poorly-equipped

and generally inferior force to overcome the existing authority. Further, long and intimate association with the feudal rural social set up had weakened the strength of the rulers. In instance after instance, a numerically superior KMT force, armed with the most modern weapons, fell victim to a band of armed peasants because of sheer inability to function properly due to ingrained corruption and inefficiency.

During these past three years, however, there have been some members of the Government who apparently recognized that the only successful method of combatting the Communists was through reform. A review of these efforts only strengthens the logic of the Communists' argument that the KMT was by its very nature incapable of reform.

The best and most generally known example of this inability to change the social structure without fundamentally changing itself was in the case of areas re-captured from the Communists. In the days when the KMT, still fat from post-Sino-Japanese War loot and still digesting UNRRA aid, was capable of mounting first-class military offensives against the poorly armed Reds, considerable territory was brought back under Government control. The lack of enthusiasm with which the people residing in these areas greeted the victorious KMT forces brought home to some of the leaders in Nanking the point that the Communists had actually become popular with the people because of their reform program.

It was thus decided to enforce a reform program in competition with the Reds, and Nanking decreed that special attention should be paid to helping the farmers in recovered areas. Rents were to be reduced to a maximum of about 25 percent of the crop per year. Land already divided by the Communists should not be returned to the landlords except in special cases. Various other regulations which would permit the farmers to retain most of the economic gains which they had achieved under Communist administration were promulgated.

The mere fact that Nanking was willing to introduce such "lenient" measures for recovered areas, while at the same time enforcing the old system in areas which had never been occupied by the Communists, led many people to remark wryly that the farmers were better off if the Reds came and left than if they never came at all!

However, these reform measures, like so many other ones during the past two decades, remained largely paper documents. When Government troops chased the Communists out of an area, the old landlords who had fled the Reds came back and demanded restitution of their holdings and prerogatives. Frequently, these landlords were members of the Government military forces which reoccupied the areas and obviously could not be expected to carry out an order from Nanking which adversely effected themselves. Likewise, the old magistrates and other officials who came back with the victorious troops and were re-installed in office could hardly be expected to alter their ideas or change their practices.

In fact conditions in recovered areas frequently became worse after the return of the old gentry and official class than before the Communists had visited the areas. Many were bent on vengeance and on making up for the rents, bribes and other profits which they had missed during the Red occupation. The end result was that, when the Communists came a second time, the peasants were happier than ever to see them and spared no effort in helping them drive out the KMT administrators.

Since then the tide of battle has turned sharply and it is the Communists who are taking over territory. This turning of the tables has resulted in several interesting developments, including the spectacle of a KMT regime growing ever more feudal in its outlook and ever more inefficient and corrupt as the territory it administers shrinks. The top level officers and bureaucrats, driven from their original feeding grounds by the Red advance, are concentrating in greater and greater density in the smaller area left to the Government. Naturally, since they fled the Reds, their basic concept of society has not undergone much of a change, and the area remaining to the KMT is being hard put to it to provide sufficient revenue for the oversupply of officials and gentry.

This has resulted in two main developments. First, the oppression of the people in Government territory is increasing in intensity and, second, conflict and fighting has broken out among the rulers themselves as they vie with one another for what loot is available. It is a strange thing but defeat does not seem to make the inefficient and corrupt tighten their belts and attempt to correct their past mistakes. Rather, it tends to accentuate their shortcomings and their appetites seem to grow as they realize that a definite time limit has been set for their activities.

* * *

HOWEVER, at this stage of the game a very few of the rulers, who now realize the folly of past policy, try to raise their heads and cry for reform. In a way it is pitiful to see people talking of reform plans to be implemented at some future date. One can hardly imagine why anyone bothers to waste breath on such matters at this late hour. One such plan, promulgated by the Kiangsi Provincial Government, calls for sweeping land reforms which will be implemented by December 31, 1949.

The latest such reform plan to make its appearance was announced in Nanking by the Ministry of Land Administration, which said land ownership will be limited and surplus redistributed in China's most sweeping reform since the Nationalist Government sought peace with the Chinese Communists. The announcement failed to say how this was to be done or when it was to be implemented.

This measure, as well as the one envisaged by Kiangsu provincial authorities, will probably die in the planning stage. Any attempt at enforcement, we would guess, would be frustrated

by the same factors which made it impossible to enforce the Government's plans for liberalized land programs in areas recovered from the Communists. What's more, conditions in the countryside are rapidly getting out of hand and it is doubtful if there is sufficient organization to implement such a program in all areas now held by the KMT. Armed uprisings are chronic and become more serious daily in several provinces, such as Kwangtung and Yunnan in particular. Only the other day 1,000 Communist troops were reported to have crossed the Hainan straits from Hainan island, landed on the Luichow peninsula mainland and seized brief control of the city of Luichow. Latest press reports tell of new uprissings in Hunan, scene of some of the Communists' most effective work a couple of decades ago. Further, it is doubtful if the Communists will stand still long enough for the KMT to make very effective plans, let alone implement them. This seems especially true when one realizes that it has taken 20 years for even a small fraction of the rulers to recognize the problem.

In some ways, this sudden concern with rural conditions compares with the last days of the Manchu Dynasty when reforms poured forth from the throne in wholesale lots. However, at that time they came so late that the throne's administrative machinery in the provinces had already broken down to such an extent that it was no longer capable of implementing any orders received from Peiping, especially ones with which the administrative officers themselves were not in sympathy.

Sounds Familiar

The Burma Government, faced with rebel capture of Mandalay and guerilla disturbances within a few miles of the capital city of Rangoon, has agreed to discuss differences with the rebels and has offered the latter a general amnesty if they will just surrender their arms to government forces. —news item.

Seems like we've heard this before somewhere.

US Loan For Spain?

THE United States is considering whether to extend a loan to the Spanish Government of Generalissimo Francisco Franco, press dispatches from Madrid reported last week. The prolonged drought in Spain may cause widespread crop failures and, if this calamity should befall the country, it is said that "anything could happen."

An American loan to Franco, it was pointed out by American Embassy sources in Madrid, would enable the Spanish dictator to tide over this critical period and avoid popular unrest which might unseat his regime. Justification for granting such a loan could be found in the current American program for fighting Communism in Western Europe, it was said.

While there is as yet no indication that the US Government is doing any more than considering the matter, the whole idea is so repugnant that it gives any American who believes that the past war was a just and necessary one pause for thought. One wonders what goes on inside the busy minds of the Washington bureaucrats.

"The Log Carrier," by Chao Yen-nien.

The war against the Axis powers was fought to rid the world of fascism — at least that is what the American people were told by their government. More Americans lost their lives in the conflict against Japan, Germany, Italy and their satellites than in any previous war in which the United States participated. And that includes the American Civil War. Needless to say, the US spent more national treasure on the past war than in any previous similar engagement. All during this war, if our memory serves us correctly, American policy toward Spain was based upon the conviction that Franco, who rose to power with the help of Hitler and Mussolini, was a partner in the Axis, although perhaps not an active one. Commercial embargoes were enforced against Spain because it was felt that anything Franco bought from us that was of military value would end up in Hitler's hands. Upon occasion, this policy was modified, but only when it was felt that the war effort could be expedited by relaxing the economic pressure a bit. On the whole, though, we treated fascist Spain as a potential enemy.

Now it seems that there are people in the American Government who are anxious to give Franco aid in order to help him keep control of Spain. These people rationalize their thinking by explaining that America is fighting communism in Europe and Franco is also fighting communism in his small segment of Europe. The fallaciousness of such reasoning is more than obvious.

As we have pointed out in the past, the United States has become so hysterical about the communist "threat" to the American way of life that it is willing to enter into partnership with all the international crooks, gangsters, and other disreputable elements it can find so long as they profess an aversion to things red. Unless there is a sudden reversal of policy, the United States itself will rapidly become the biggest world threat to free institutions, individual liberties and all the other fine achievements which have become known as the American way of life.

The People's Will

A SPOKESMAN of the French Foreign Ministry last week stated that France had no intention of giving up her Indian possessions before the desire of the local populations can be made known by a referendum. The statement followed an earlier one by Indian Premier Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who said that French possessions in India must be integrated with the Indian state.

The French Government's apparent concern for the wishes of colonial subjects abroad might be more touching if we knew less about France's colonial policy. If, for instance, France had given the natives of French India or French Indo-China an opportunity for a referendum to decide whether or not they wanted the blessings of colonial rule in the first place, the idea of a referendum at the present time might sound more logical.

However, when one country imposes its rule upon another by force of arms and then, a few centuries later when the tides of nationalism have finally reached the colonial subjects, begins talking about the wishes of the "people," one may be excused for a certain amount of skepticism. The chief French possession in India is Pondicherry. According to the "Statesman's Yearbook," this colony was founded by the French in 1674, taken by the Dutch in 1693, and restored in 1699. The English took it in 1761, restored it in 1765, re-took it in 1778, restored it a second time in 1785; re-took it a third time in 1793, and restored it in 1814. We wonder if, during this period of colonial warfare, the French ever suggested to the Dutch or the British that a popular referendum should be held to determine the desires of the native population?

This solicitude for the people's will is most interesting, especially in view of the policy the French are pursuing in Indo-China. We have heard nothing about a referendum for Indo-China. Perhaps it is because there is no need for one, since the people have pretty well expressed their ideas on the subject by rising in armed revolt and all but driving the French from the country.

Headline of the Week

The following item appeared in the *Shanghai Evening Post* of March 8, 1949 under the headline, "Anti-Spy Law Okayed By Congress:"

"Washington, Mar. 7.—(Reuter)—The United States House of Representatives passed overwhelmingly today a guarded, broadly worded bill to strengthen America's intelligence network abroad.....

"The bill is designed to give the Central Intelligence Agency permanent statutory authority to carry out its work..

"The agency, highly secret nerve center for America's intelligence operations around the world, would be allowed to hide its annual budget in expenditures of other government departments and be excused from publishing its payrolls and expenditures, as other departments are required to do.

"It would also be given authority, with the approval of the Attorney-General, to bring up to 100 aliens into the United States every year in return for information from them."

Anti-*what* law?

25 Years Ago in *The China Weekly Review*

Wine And Tobacco Tax

March 15, 1924.

The Bureau of Wine and Tobacco Tax in Hupeh has been reorganized. Under the present system, wealthy merchants are invited to manage affairs of the Bureau and to pay a contracted amount of revenue to the Government every year under the supervision of Government officials.

* * *

Trouble In Chengtu

The difficulties in the way of any elements in China making real headway toward peace and unification are perhaps well illustrated in the spectacle we have here in Chengtu at present. The Federal leaders have been in the city now for a little more than three days. Today, February 13, was declared a holiday in honor of the unification with Peking. The Confederate forces are apparently scattered and, for the time being at least, are no particular danger to the new regime. There is every evidence that many of the units formerly "loyal" to Hsiung Keh Wu are to be welcomed under the new commanders as true sons of China. Three of Hsiung Keh Wu's officers were met today within the space of one street, one in uniform, walking peacefully about as if they had been fully pardoned!

10 Years Ago In *The China Weekly Review*

US Marines In Shanghai

March 18, 1939.

In discussing a Senate debate on the Neutrality Bill scheduled to expire on May 1, 1939, mention was made in the *Review's* pages of a sharp debate in the Senate over the issue of withdrawing the US Marines from Shanghai and China generally. The recent incident in the American defense sector between Marines and a Japanese search party, reports of which were cabled to the American press, caused two senators to demand withdrawal of the Marines from Chinese soil. The two senators were J. Hamilton Lewis of Chicago and Robert R. Reynolds of North Carolina. Both declared that the presence of American forces in the war zones in China were a "threat to peace." They declared that "America's commercial stake in China was too small to warrant the presence of marines there." Senator David I. Walsh (who opposed the Guam fortifications) challenged that the withdrawal of the Marines "would violate international agreements and leave United States citizens and their interests undefended." Withdrawal of the Marines from China, Senator Walsh declared, "would be tantamount to withdrawing policeman from the streets of Washington and expecting that law and order would prevail as before."

Senator Reynolds declared that the whole of China "is not worth spilling the blood of a single son of any United States mother." He added that American investments only amounted to $240,000,000 in China and the maintenance of troops to protect the investments "might lead to considerable embarrassment, trouble and possible embroilment."

The debate revealed that a considerable difference of opinion apparently prevails between the War and State Departments on the subject of maintaining the American forces in China. The War Department apparently wants all troops withdrawn, while the State Department insists that they be maintained to protect American nationals.

* * *

Germany Invades Czechoslovakia

German troops marched into Prague on Wednesday of this week to complete the liquidation of the Czecho-Slovak state created by the Treaty of Versailles. All Bohemia and Moravia are now under German military occupation. No resistance was forthcoming and reports from Berlin indicate that the Czech territories are to be incorporated into the Reich under some scheme of local autonomy. The Czech army has already been disarmed and is to be disbanded.

Changing Conditions In Amoy

Lin Chen-keng

OPPOSITE Taiwan, on the South China coast, lies the city of Amoy. It is an island of 110.8 square miles, and it is said that because the island was originally a nest of herons, or because its geographical features look like a heron, it used to be known as Heron Island.

In the Sung dynasty, the island was part of Tungan hsien in Fukien province. It was not until the Ming dynasty that it became an independent township and a wall was built. The wall was named Amoy and from it the city derives its name.

In 1842, as the result of the so-called "Opium War," Amoy was made one of the five ports for foreign trade. Since then, it has gradually emerged from a barren island to a westernized city. Amoy now holds a place of national importance. It stands guard over the frontier of the South China coast. It holds the key to overseas communications. It serves as a transportation station to the interior of Fukien, and it is a good naval port and commercial town.

Fear Of War

But Amoy is still scarred from the war of resistance. In 1938, to facilitate military operations in South China and maintain communications between Japan, Taiwan and China, the Japanese took the city by storm, and in the years of occupation that followed, hundreds of Amoy's inhabitants were rendered homeless and destitute. It is easy to destroy, but difficult to build up. While the overseas Chinese in Fukien, the builders of modern Amoy, have been trying to undertake the difficult and heroic task of rebuilding the city, events in China have made conditions in Amoy so disheartening that hope and enthusiasm are vanishing under the fear of war.

In recent months, every south-bound China Merchants Steam Navigation Company liner has brought to Amoy officers, officials and wealthy refugees from Shanghai and other northern ports. They are like birds of passage. They can not stand the storm sweeping from the north and move southward in the hope of finding temporary quiet and a comfortable home on this temperate island. But to their surprise, they are finding that another furious current is whirling in Amoy. It is a torrent of hunger, confusion and struggle, and it may become more terrible and destructive than the storm they feared. For look, Peiping has changed hands through peaceful settlement; the storm was nothing but an illusion.

Amoy is a little island, not a rice-growing region, and it has few agricultural products. Before the war of resistance, rice and other foodstuffs were imported mostly from the South Seas and from Siam, Burma and Indo-China. With the outbreak of the war, the supply from the South Seas was cut off, and Amoy had to depend on shipments from Shanghai and Wuhu, as well as Taiwan and the Changchow area in southeastern Fukien.

Now, however, because of the chaotic military and political situation, Taiwan has placed restrictions on its rice exports, the Shanghai and Wuhu supplies have been cut off, and even the crops in the Changchow region are not promising. Amoy thus faces an acute shortage of food. This shortage, together with the hoarding of rice profiteers, has made rice prices exorbitant, and rice rules all other commodities. Even the public utilities—telephone, electricity, water supply, transportation, etc.—are charged according to rice units.

No less serious is the problem of housing. A great many buildings were ruined during the war and the ones that are left are not in good condition. Now that so many Government organizations have moved to Amoy, disputes about housing have arisen on all sides. There have been so many misunderstandings between officers and inhabitants, owners and tenants that the judicial authorities are bored of handling housing cases.

It is gratifying to note that after investigating the situation, the ECA plans to distribute rice in the city. Amoy has a population of 200,000 and needs 50,000 piculs of rice a month. It is learned that ECA may supply 20,000 piculs a month. This will materially help the food situation.

For more than three years, Amoy has had to supply subsidiary foodstuffs to the army, gendarmerie and police stationed here. In addition, the soldiers are given free transportation, use of public utilities and theater entrance, a burden which the civilians must shoulder. Now many more troops are being transferred here. It is reported that the following groups already have arrived:

1) The Tsingtao Naval College (青島海軍學校) with 600 students and 800 teachers, officers and their families.

2) The Army Rear Service Headquarters 101st Supply Station (後方勤務總部101供應站) with 18 officers and 20 soldiers.

3) The Army Service Headquarters 108th Radio Station (勤務總部108無線電台) with 17 technical personnel and five officers.

4) The First Pacification Brigade First and Fourth Battalions (保安第一團一、四營) with 140 soldiers in Amoy and the rest in neighboring districts.

5) The Nanking Presidential Guard Brigade (南京總統警衛團) with a spearhead of 400 in Amoy. Two battalions of the Brigade, which numbers 3,600 in all, will be stationed on Taiwan.

6) The Air Force Second Radar Squadron (空軍第二航空雷達隊) with 26 personnel.

7) The Air Force 424th Radio Station (空軍424無線電台) with 14 officers and 40 technical personnel.

Conscription Doubled

With regard to conscription, the whole town was shaken at the end of last year by the random arrests of able-bodied young men to make up the conscription lists. For several days the youth of the city did not dare go outside, and the protests were so numerous that the authorities had to stop. This year, the city government has been instructed to send twice as many conscripts as last year.

The visit of a representative of the American Consulate in Shanghai to Amoy last month aroused much speculation. It was reported that he discussed with the mayor of Amoy and the governor of Fukien the construction of a modern naval port-wharf in Amoy. According to reports, the port-wharf would be located in southeastern Amoy, and if it is approved by all concerned, work would begin around the middle of April.

With so many developments, the little island of Amoy is dizzy with the prospect of sweeping changes. They may be for the better or for the worse. Oh, people of Amoy, "Beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things!"

"OF MICE AND MEN"—AN ITALIAN COMMENT

Marc' Aurelio, Rome.

"In case of war, who would I follow?—That mouse!"

Japanese Philosophy And Politics

Joshua W. K. Liao

(This is the last of a series of three articles on the history of Japanese philosophy—Editor.)

The national trait of obedience now assumed the form of academic subserviency and often killed creative genius in the bud—the more so because, by taking a short-cut in order to quickly turn out native leaders, every university, while allowing almost optional class attendance, placed scholarly research on a closely supervised apprenticeship basis. In consequence, the majority of university students would manage to pass the annual examinations but forget most of what they learned, while only a few could form a habit of intensive study and master the method of independent work. As to post-graduate students, each one was supposed to cling to the same professor for three to five years, during which period of time he would work like an apprentice and errand-boy. Expected to help the professor at work and report on his own work regularly, he could neither criticize his teacher and advisor nor deviate in his intellectual exploration from the beaten track of his predecessor. There was no final examination or debate; he merely submitted his dissertation to his supervisor for approval in order to receive the doctorate degree, which was thus conferred by the university in name but in fact by his supervising professor. The five-years of supervision and subserviency stereotyped his mind and personality and his knowledge was so one-sided and specialized that it failed to appreciate most of the allied subjects. For such reasons, in proportion to the high percentage of literacy and the enormous number of university graduates and professional academicians, creative scholars in Japan have been few and far between.

Growth Of Nationalism

Just as every budding scholar worshipped his teacher, advisor, and predecessor, so did the Japanese people whole-heartedly admire the Germans. Having found German ideas and institutions nearest to theirs and therefore easiest to learn, they considered everything German the best. To become united and powerful, the Germans had waged and won three successive wars. So, then, must the Japanese also fight their neighbors successfully and successively. In 1895 they defeated China and in 1905 Russia. In 1914, the Government joined the Allies and fought Germany, but the people remained pro-German. Prince Ito was adored as the Japanese Bismarck; the Emperor Meiji, worshipped as the Japanese Kaiser William I.

After the victorious war against Russia, the Japanese became not only self-confident but also conscious of world affairs and prospects, and this spurred academic interest in the idealism of Berkeley and Hume, Eucken and Bergson, as well as of Kant and Hegel. As nationalism, capitalism, and imperialism rose; interest in Hegel and Nietzsche, in Adam Smith and the Mills gradually gained academic orthodoxy.

On the whole, the philosophical interests of Tokyo Imperial University remained historical and critical, while those of Kyoto Imperial University were analytical and systematic. Founded in 1897, the latter began the publication of the *Philosophical Studies* (哲學研究) in 1916, whereafter neo-Kantianism in particular was introduced and expounded, and for years German thinkers like Rickert, Windelband, Husserl, Dilthey, and Simmel were favorite subjects of discussion.

Meanwhile, Rickert's pupil Sayuda Kiichiro (左右田喜一郎), while teaching in the Tokyo College of Commerce, expounded his system of culturalism and theory of value, revealing neo-Kantian influences. In Waseda University, Professor Kaneko Umaharu (金子馬治), and in Tokyo Imperial University, Professor Kuwaki Genyoku, too, developed similar trends of culturalism.

During the First World War the focus of interest turned from neo-Kantian to neo-Hegelian idealism. With the latter as his starting point, Professor Nishida Kitaro (西田幾太郎) built up his system of thought in innumerable volumes—*e.g.*, *Studies in Good* (1911), *Thinking and Experiencing* (1915), *Intuition and Reflection in Self-Consciousness* (1917), *The Philosophy of New Idealism in the Present Age* (1917), *Problems of Consciousness* (1900), *Art and Morals* (1923), etc. According to him, at the bottom of self-consciousness lies pure experience exhibiting the absolute free will, and self-consciousness is the synthesizing process of such antinomies as rationality and irrationality, being and non-being, affirmation and negation, etc. He conceived of "non-being" (無) in terms of "inability to be a predicate of a true being." Thus, anything that cannot predicate anything else cannot be in existence. This novel idea, developed in detail in his recent work *From Workers to Seers* (1927), is peculiar to his thought and shows such originality that the German philosopher, Rickert, spoke highly of him as the leading Japanese philosopher of the day. In him appeared the first Japanese thinker of initiative after half-a-century of introduction of Occidental academic philosophy.

The Leftist Movement

As in 19th century Germany, so in 20th century Japan Hegelians split into rightist and leftist factions. In 1895 appeared Tsuta Sanemichi's (津田眞道) *Materialism* in Japanese. In 1901 the Social Democratic Party was formed by Abe Isoo (阿部磯雄), Katayama Sen (片山潛), and Kotoku Akimizu (幸德秋水) and was dissolved by order on the same day. Kotoku published his *Gist of Socialism* in 1903, became an anarchist and atheist, and was found guilty of high treason in 1910 and sentenced to death.

In 1907, Katayama founded the Commoners' Association and in 1911 organized the Socialist Party. Following the Russian Bolshevik Revolution, he openly avowed communism and in 1920 promoted the publication of the periodical *Socialism* and in 1921 the rise of proletariat literature in Japan. The Japanese Communist Party was first organized in 1920, reorganized in 1926 and its influence spread rapidly. When another communist leader, together with wife and nephew, Ohsugi Sakae (大杉榮), was assassinated by a young officer in 1923, Katayama managed to escape to Russia, where he lived in exile as a Central Executive Member of the Third International until his death in the nineteen thirties.

Heterodox Thinkers

Inside the academic circle, while rightist thinkers were registered as orthodox, leftist elements were always ostracized as heterodox. Unlike the former, who confined themselves to the class-rooms, the "bad boys" always looked to the marketplace to keep abreast with the tide of world affairs. Abe, for instance, remained a socialist professor in Waseda but published his famous *The Age of Socialism* in 1924 and organized the Socialist Mass Party when universal suffrage was inaugurated in 1926. As Party President he was well liked but was often maltreated by agents of the Military following the outbreak of the Mukden Incident in 1931.

Abe's younger colleague in Waseda, by the name of Sano Marabu (佐野學), who published his *Prospects of the Historical Process* in 1928, has been a staunch ideological spokesman of the leftist movement in Japan. Yet, so far the most prolific author and professor has been Kawaue Hajimu (河上肇) of Kyoto Imperial University, author of such widely read books as *The Fundamental Conception of Economics* (1910), *Studies in the Materialist View of History* (1921), and *The Basic Theory of Marxian Economics* (1929). Thanks to his literary efforts, Marxism spread far and wide, reaching its climax of popularity in 1926, when the liberal Minseito (民政黨) was in power. In 1927, the *Japanese Workers and Farmers' Daily* was

founded and the complete works of Marx and Engels appeared in Japanese.

Following the general round-up of Communist Party members on March 15, 1928 by the reactionary Seiyukai (政友會) cabinet under the war-lord Premier Tanaka (田中義一), a number of leftist authors and thinkers, including Kawaue and Sano, were arrested, questioned, and detained for harboring dangerous thoughts in the hope that they would change their minds while sitting in jail. Some of them died "mysteriously" inside jail while others remained there till the end of the Second World War.

Since then, the Japanese leftists have separated into the Socialist and Communist Parties. Yet, in the Japanese translation of Mao Tsê-tung's *New Democracy*, both have found their New Testament, distributing free copies like noon extras. When the first Socialist Cabinet appeared on the stage in 1947 under Premier Katayama Tetsu (片山哲), it showed considerable resemblance to the British Labor Party. In the recent election, however, the Communists seem to have gained at the expense of the Socialists. And their basic difference seems to lie between nationalism, monarchism, and moderation on the one side and internationalism, republicanism, and extremism on the other. The Communists alone have dared to demand and have been agitating for the earliest deposition of the *Mikado*—the seed and root of Japanese imperialism, militarism, and capitalism.

Nipponism And World-Conquest

The year 1931, when Japanese philosophers celebrated the 100th anniversary of Hegel's death, marked both the merging of German absolutism with Japanese spiritualism and the resurgence of totalitarianism in Japanese politics. Between the horns of Kato's dilemma the pendulum once again swung back to military dictatorship. During the ascendancy of the liberals the fighting caste, though pushed to back seats, had to keep calm in view of the repeated diplomatic successes and victorious foreign wars under liberal leadership. But it was biding its time to launch a comeback. The struggle was to be waged between the sword and the pen.

Strangely enough, almost the entire era of seven decades (1867-1937) was lived out by two opposing patriarchs—Prince Saionji and Toyama Mitsuru (頭山滿). Unlike Saionji, who stayed in the limelight all his life, Toyama preferred to move the strings behind the scenes while keeping a flock of young die-hards around him. He wanted the quickest mastery of Western technology, importation of foreign machines, and utilization of foreign weapons all for accomplishing expansionism and militarism. Aside from these developments of the west, he hated anything of foreign origin. To him, any further Westernization was national betrayal and Shintoism and Bushido should be revived as bulwarks against foreign influence. So in the wars against China and Russia he gladly inspired Japanese boys to march to the fronts. When the Treaty of Portsmouth, concluded between Japan and Russia through Theodore Roosevelt's mediation, was found to grant Japan no reparations except the southern half of Sakhalin and the South Manchurian Railway, a growing number of Japanese patriots became so indignant that demonstrations of discontent were staged in Tokyo and Yokohama. The envoy Komura (小村壽太郎) upon his return had a narrow escape. Japan should at least have received the North Manchurian Railway and extended her sphere of influence as far as the Amur River, they insisted. Malcontents, naming themselves after the river called Kokurynko (黑龍江) meaning the Black Dragon River, secretly formed the Black Dragon Society with Toyama as their patriarch and leading spirit. Advocating northward expansion on the Asiatic Continent, they promoted the continental policy and prepared for another war against Russia.

GONE WITH THE WIND

This cartoon, from the Shun Pao, shows the skyrocketing of commodity prices.

Assassinations

At the end of the First World War, when communist propaganda and infiltration were gaining influence, the Japanese super-patriots became anti-Communist as well as anti-Russian. Denouncing what they called racial discrimination in the Versailles Peace Conference in 1919, naval discrimination in the Washington Conference in 1921, and the United States Immigration Law of 1924, they began to harbor anti-Anglo-American sentiments, too. During the first decade after the War, though liberal elements were still holding sway, the super-patriots, backed by the Military, waged sporadic war against both liberals and leftists through public demonstrations and private assassinations. Thus, Premier Hara Kei (原敬) fell a victim to the dagger of a young die-hard in 1921; Ohsugi Sakae was murdered in 1923; and unarmed Koreans were massacred after the earthquake of 1923. Likewise, right after the London Naval Disarmament Conference in 1930, which had appeared distasteful to Japanese expansionists, Premier Hamaguchi received a mortal wound from an assassin from which he died the next year. In the same year, 1930, Kihira's (紀平正美) *Japanese Spirit* (日本精神) appeared.

As Hegel had considered history the "embodiment of spirit in the form of events" and the world-spirit to be revealed in world-history, authors on the Japanese Spirit now came to hold and prove that the Divine Will, as first outlined by the Sun Goddess, had been fulfilled through the life of the Yamato race in its four phases—the Way of the Gods, the Yamato Tamashii, the Way of the Warrior, and finally the Japanese Spirit. In response to Spengler's *Decline of the West*, which challenges Hegel's teleological philosophy of history, academic philosophers like Tanabe after 1930 redoubled their efforts to study Hegel's dialectic and philosophy of history. Thereafter appeared a number of writings on Japanese thought, political ideas, and historical philosophy by Watsuji Tetsuro (和辻哲郎), Miki Kiyoshi (三木清), Takahashi Satomi (高橋里美), etc.

The Imperial Way

With the culmination of the world-wide post-war economic depression in 1930 and international politics losing its balance of power, and with the Chinese Nationalists occupying China Proper, trying to persuade Chang Hsuch-liang of Manchuria to submit, Japanese supremacy was challenged. The Japanese Military, unable to wait longer, finally struck by creating the Mukden Incident in September, 1931. Because world opinion, as evidenced through the League of Nations, was turning against Japan, the then Foreign Minister Shidehara (幣原) of the Wakatsuki (若槻) Cabinet, whose liberal diplomacy had been praised abroad, attempted to halt the Japanese advance into the Great Wall and patch up the situation peacefully by speaking to the *Mikado* personally, but he was manhandled by the Army Minister Araki Sadao (荒木貞夫). In the Diet Araki proudly said: "Who dares oppose our arms when we are prosecuting our holy mission on the Asiatic Continent? We declare to the world that we are a militaristic nation in the cause of Kodo (皇道 the Imperial Way). Let all of us show the spirit of Japan before the rest of the world...." Thereafter the cabinet split and resigned en bloc.

Meanwhile, Araki published his notorious *Addresses to the Japanese Nation* aiming thereby to hammer new ideas of expansionism, militarism, and racialism into the mind of every Japanese.

In fact, every Japanese while a school child had already read about Napoleon and Genghis Khan. The latter conqueror one Japanese author even identified as Minamoto

Yoshitsune (源義經), a younger brother of Yoritomo, and this story was believed by many Japanese. The change of the famous novelist Kikuchi Kan (菊池寬) into a pro-military writer startled nobody, but the transformation of Niitobe (新渡戶) from a liberal into a jingoist justifying Japanese militarism and expansionism both at Geneva, Switzerland in 1931 and at Banff, Canada in 1932 surprised the world and disappointed his Christian friends. On the other hand, Professor Minobe (美濃部), whose organic theory of the emperor was singled out for attack by super-patriots, resigned honorably from the Peerage in 1932; and Professor Takigawa (瀧川) of Kyoto Imperial University College of Jurisprudence, whose liberal interpretation of the Constitution was disapproved by the then Education Minister Hatoyama (鳩山), retired gracefully into private life in 1933.

At the end of 1931, a Seiyukai cabinet under Inukai (犬養毅) appeared. Also unable to satiate the Military's territorial hunger, Inugai died in his official residence at the hands of young officers in May, 1932. In 1933, Japan withdrew from the League of Nations; in 1934 she abrogated the Nine Powers' Pact. In 1935, Japanese warriors penetrated into the Peking and Tientsin area. For the Military, the move was neither fast nor smooth enough because "pro-foreign" elements had been the constant drawback. Some of the young officers decided on a coup to purge the whole Government of "traitors" and "self-seekers." So on February 26, 1936, ex-Premier Saito (齋藤實內) and Takahashi (高橋是清) and several other top-ranking statesmen were murdered. The next cabinet fell to the then Foreign Minister Hirota (廣田弘毅), a Black Dragon Society member, who became the man of the hour acceptable both to the *Mikado* and the Military.

United Front

After the outbreak of the China Incident in July, 1937, totalitarianism rose at the expense of parliamentarianism with all parties whipped into a united front. After the fall of France and the rise of German prestige in 1940, most Japanese politicians were urged to form the Imperial Rule Aid Association with a view to launching a one-party system. From then on ensued a dictatorship with no dictator; for nobody dared to act absolutely freely under the sacred shadow of the *Mikado*.

With the Tripartite Alliance, the fusion of Japanese militarism with German and Italian jingoism reached its crowning phase. When converging on Moscow in December, 1941, Japan's European allies wanted her to sandwich the Russians in Siberia. Instead, the Japanese Military, thinking southward expansion much easier and more profitable than any northward move, struck at Pearl Harbor and marched southward. Within four years time the Co-Prosperity Sphere in Greater East Asia — the largest *Lebensraum* ever attained by the Children of the Sun Goddess — appeared and disappeared like a dream. Nevertheless, at the Pan-East-Asia International Conference held in Tokyo in 1944, the War Premier Tojo Hideki (東條英機) harangued the delegates from the puppet governments of the various occupied countries by re-affirming: "Whereas the Occident talks about the Human Way and China about the Heavenly Way, the Imperial Way of Japan is the Divine Way handed down from time immemorial through the Emperors. The Japanese people are Children of the Gods; their Emperors are lineal heirs of the Sun Goddess Amaterasu. Descended from a divine origin the race is entitled to world-leadership. To accomplish their divine mission, the Japanese must establish the Co-Prosperity Sphere in Greater East Asia first and finally all over the world. Therefore, all friendly nations must follow Japan and go the way of the Imperial Forces (*Kogun* 皇軍) ...."

New Liberalism?

As the tide of the Second World War turned against the Axis, Japanese liberals in hibernation gradually raised their heads. As Saipan and Okinawa fell, the voice for peace became more and more audible. Still, the Potsdam Declaration was not taken so seriously as the atomic bomb. On midnight of August 9, 1945, in the presence of the *Mikado*, the last emergency conference was held attended by the Premier, Foreign Minister, Army Minister, Navy Minister, Chief of Staff, and Chief Commander. After a heated debate of several hours, these policy-makers split evenly: The Premier, Foreign Minister, and Navy Minister wanted peace-talks; the other three, more war. Liberalism and pacifism having thus regained enough strength to match the forces of despotism and militarism, the *Mikado*, when asked to choose, tipped the balance by joining the peace faction. Die-hards attempted to destroy the report on the final decision on its way to the press, but with no success.

Following the surrender ceremony aboard the *Missouri*, a new era of liberalism began. Soon the Japanese Constitution was amended to the satisfaction of the SCAP; the political parties were dissolved and reorganized; women were granted suffrage; financial magnates were liquidated; the educational system was reformed; and textbooks were revised for democratic indoctrination. The country, disarmed and occupied, the people, awakened once again to the realities of world affairs and the deceptions of their former warrior leaders, have changed. Persuaded by their enlightened leaders that their greatness could be demonstrated through defeat more than through victory, they now bow to their conquerors and want to learn from them. Unable to send millions of students abroad to study, they have made the most of the presence of occupation forces, regarding every GI as an instructor and philanthropist as well as a conqueror and supervisor. When subjugated, the Japanese can act more subservient than any other people. The victorious Occident once again finds the Japanese very teachable. Moreover, by demonstrating their habits of industry and frugality, they have appealed honestly and earnestly to the Americans for aid and sympathy. In view of their ability and determination to achieve reconstruction and rehabilitation, America considers them worth helping and has been extending aid to them.

In their heart of hearts the Japanese are longing and planning for a comeback and another showdown. Their thinking is in terms of centuries rather than decades. Despite the growth of Communist influence, they openly utter anti-Russian sentiments, resenting the stab in their back in reply to their request for mediation. When a referendum was held to decide between monarchism and republicanism, the overwhelming majority voted for the *Mikado*—the center and basis of their unity and enthusiasm, paving the route and goal of their national resurrection. During the trial of war criminals, a number of their witnesses received telephone warnings from anonymous callers. By pretending to help the occupation forces maintain peace and order, they have asked for the right to rearm, partially but gradually. When evacuating Formosa, they regretfully but vehemently said, "*Sayonara, junengo ni mata aimasho* (Good-bye, see you again in ten years!)"

Want Comeback

To be sure, mere occupation and re-education for 10 or 20 years cannot possibly make a democratic and peace-loving nation out of a Fascist, war-like people who have for two millennia imbibed the philosophy of expansionism and militarism. Yet neither permanent occupation nor mass-migration abroad for transformation is possible. Meanwhile, the Third World War might break out, a development which the Japanese would welcome at the earliest moment as a means of giving them the opportunity to strike back.

When hitting back, they will hit harder. And the worst victims in the Japanese comeback will again be the Chinese and the Koreans. Ironically enough, the minute the Japanese laid down their arms, the Chinese Nationalists and Communists picked up Japanese arms and resumed their decade-long fratricidal war. American aid to Japan has been resented, though the Nationalists and Southern Koreans have themselves sought further American aid. Why do they not stop fighting among themselves first, set about reconstruction and rehabilitation, and then ask for further aid? As it is impossible to change overnight the national philosophy and race-psychology of Japan, all Chinese and their allies must guard against Japan's military comeback.

A Chinese View Of American Aid

C. Y. W. Meng

THE present US$400,000,000 program of American military and economic aid to China will expire on April 3 of this year. Mr. Roger D. Lapham, chief of the ECA China mission, now is reported to have proposed a new US$240,000,000 aid program for "Nationalist" China.

Unlike the UNRRA program which, by agreement, was supposed to apply to the entire country, the proposed new American aid would be used only in that part of China which is still under Kuomintang rule. The present American mentality can perhaps be illustrated by an editorial in the *New York World Telegram* which said that "if what remains of Nationalist China is to be saved from Communist occupation, money must be advanced to finance armed resistance."

At the time when Mr. Lapham was reported to have suggested a new China aid program to the US Congress, some recent issues of a few leading American magazines reached me, and I read their contents with great interest. Some of the most interesting articles were Demaree Bess' "Does ERP Mean War or Peace?" in the January 29th issue of the *Saturday Evening Post*; "Why US Is Failing in Asia," in the January 28 issue of *US News & World Report*; Isabel Cary Lundberg's "World Revolution—American Plan," in the December issue of *Harper's*; and Elmer Davis' "What Are Wars For?" in the January issue of *Harper's*.

All these articles by American writers have added strongly to my personal conviction that no new American aid, economic and/or military, should be given to China pending the conclusion of the present peace negotiations between the Kuomintang and the Communists.

Changes In ERP Program

In discussing the ERP, Demaree Bess observed: ". . . the present status of our great European Recovery Program seems to demand a more coldly critical attitude, because new factors now are threatening to alter the course and objectives originally assigned to it . . . . These changes have crept into the program almost imperceptibly . . . The immediate effect was to divide Europe into two distinct camps . . . Marshall Plan countries will be transformed into a grand alliance against Russia, and the ERP will become an economic subsidiary to a military alliance . . . The proclaimed purpose of the recovery program would thus be completely altered."

Consequently, Bess continued, the British have hinted that the "Americans are going too fast," and in Europe as a whole, instead of overwhelming gratitude, "there seems to be a growing tendency . . . to feel that the original enthusiasm may evaporate if our program falls under military domination."

I believe this same feeling is shared in China. Being a poor man myself, I, too, depend on the rationed rice from ECA to help feed my family. On the back of my rice coupon there is a little ECA statement to the effect that "Part of this rationed rice for the people in the Shanghai Municipality comes from the American Government, which has used its dollars to buy rice from Siam and from the United States and which has shipped the rice to Shanghai to assist us in keeping our people fed. Proceeds from the sale are being handed over in entirety to the Chinese Government, and no part of them is returned to the American Government. A large portion of these proceeds is again used to buy the ECA rice for us." The second part of this statement reads: "Beginning from July 1 to the end of December, 1948, the Shanghai Municipality has received a total of 1,500,000 piculs of the ECA rice."

In addition to this statement on the back of each rice coupon, there is a poster displayed at every rice shop where the rationed rice is sold, bearing the Chinese and American flags and carrying the same statement. A picture of Mr. Roger D. Lapham is displayed next to this poster. So far as publicity is concerned, this seems to be adequate, but the results are quite different.

Why Opposition?

I often have read this ECA statement and have showed it to many people. When we discuss the aid problem, they say such things as, "too inadequate," or "too many political strings," or "to prolong our civil war." There are very few expressions of gratitude from the eaters of ECA rice. Why?

Mr. Lapham's proposal for new aid to "Nationalist" China was greeted with a quick and unanimous "unwanted" by Chinese professors, editors, liberals, peace-sponsors, and even by some legislators. Why?

So far as I can see, this "why," both in Europe and in China, should provide food for thought for President Truman, Mr. Paul G. Hoffman, Mr. Lapham and the framers of American policy in the State Department, and should cause them to undertake an overall reconsideration of the whole ECA program.

Having been in China first under the UNRRA, then the China Relief Mission, and now the ECA program, I may be permitted to give some of the reasons why, although I am taking this rice, it is not with wholehearted approval.

First, the injection of military overtones into a program which was supposed to be purely economic is most unfortunate and has done a great deal of harm to the ERP in Europe and the ECA in China. As pointed out sharply by Demaree Bess, "it was our 80th Congress, under various kinds of pressures, which compelled ERP's American administering agency, the ECA, to absorb the military commitments which the United States Government, under the Truman Doctrine, already had made in Greece and Turkey."

Although, Bess declares, "the Truman Doctrine and the European Recovery Program are two distinct projects, the one predominately military and the other predominantly economic . . . American military chiefs are inclined to regard the ERP as part of their own strategy for rearming the western world. . ."

AAG Unpopularity

There certainly seems to be much truth in this conclusion. In China, I have witnessed the operation of the ECA program side by side with another program, the AAG (American Advisory Group) program to train the Chinese army and navy in the civil war against the Communists. The AAG has never been popular among the Chinese. And its unpopularity has almost nullified the good effects of the ECA.

My second point is that most Chinese with whom I have discussed the subject have expressed regret that the ECA program was not accompanied by an "inspirational and constructive world leadership" and instead has been almost crippled by the "excessive" American fear of totalitarianism and mass red hysteria.

The United States has long been exporting revolution, and her traditional sympathy is supposed to be with colonial revolt. Theoretically, then, Uncle Sam should give his full support to peaceful movements for political and social change both in Europe and other parts of the world. Many of the uprisings, such as that in Bogota last year, the recent revolutions in Siam and Paraguay, and the already long-drawn-out fight for independence in Indonesia and Indo-China, are in large part drawn from the American example. In every one of these countries there has been oppression by tyrants and no freedom for the people. The population has been underprivileged, uneducated and primarily concerned with the basic necessities of life.

But to many Chinese it appears that Uncle Sam, because of the mass red hysteria, has not thought of the situation in these terms and has never claimed his relationship to it. America has overlooked the important fact that, while there may be some Communists behind all this unrest, of infinite more significance is the poverty, hunger and neglect of the masses in these countries.

Another thing which has alarmed many people in China is America's

policy of counteracting communism at any cost, even if it means an alliance with the former enemy, with extreme rightists and with reactionary ruling classes and corrupt regimes. The premature building up of Japan ahead of other countries has taken a heavy toll in Asiatic good will.

The latest proposed American aid to China is simply another evidence of Uncle Sam's "mental bankruptcy."

Look at China today. For the past 20 years, the country has been under a one-party rule. There has been no democracy, only a "personal government" made up of shifting cliques based largely on personal loyalties. There is no freedom of speech, press or association. The nation is dotted with concentration camps packed with political prisoners, the exact location of which are known only to the special service men. What is most ridiculous of all is that, while hundreds of puppet officials, drug traffickers and ordinary criminals charged with manslaughters, theft, etc., as well as officials convicted of corruption and embezzlement, have been set free, the real political prisoners are still in jail.

While every big city in China is filled with wealthy people, it is also crowded with human misery. The sick, aged, starving, crippled and homeless refugees wander about the streets begging for food and money. At night they sleep in the streets or in the doorways of buildings.

Therefore, I share the conclusion Professor John King Fairbank makes in his book "The United States and China," when he says: "Given the historic background, China was bound to experience shattering revolutionary movements in the first half of the 20th century, with or without the aid of Marxism and the Comintern."

Will US Support Change?

The United States should think carefully whether it wants to welcome and support a peaceful movement for political and social change in China, or whether it is going to permit its mass red hysteria to make it support the reactionary and ruling cliques simply because they scream the loudest against the communists.

In my opinion, the success of the ERP programs depend upon American willingness to support certain principles: Political freedom, economic equality and social security for all peoples, irrespective of race or creed. That is where American aid should go and where the dollar should be invested.

Therefore, America should not think of us as a group of ungrateful people or as communist fellow-travelers. Beneath our "Leave China Alone" appeal there are a good many reasons we have arrived at after a careful study of the situation in China and other parts of the world. While the ERP requires a "one-world" concept, any aid to China must be based on the idea of a changing China, a progressive China and a new China.

The Week's Business

DURING the first five days of the past seven days under review, the Shanghai market ruled steady for many reasons, among them:

1) The Central Bank's sale of gold bars in the open market. On March 7, when the sale started, the gold was sold to gold and silversmith shops at GY228,000 per ounce. It was then extended to the general public and the quotations were raised daily. By March 16, the official selling price was as high as GY75,000 per ounce.

The sale of gold recalled large sums of Shanghai's idle funds and, as a result, the money market became rather tight. As a matter of fact, with the prevailing high interest rate, operators could make little money in the buying and selling of gold, as profits were hardly sufficient to pay interest on the money invested in gold purchases.

2) The decision of the authorities to reopen the gold and silver exchange. The general public was given to understand that hundreds of thousands of silver dollars have been minted by the Central Mint and will be unloaded on the exchange as soon as it reopens. Meanwhile, it is believed that the authorities will dump gold on the gold and silver exchange immediately after its reopening in order to prevent any drastic rise in prices.

Faced with such problems, operators were reluctant to engage in many activities and, as a result, the market ruled steady in general.

3) The announcement of the cost of living index on March 15. It was believed that the cost of living index would be around 1,500 times, and businessmen therefore tried to keep sufficient funds in the banks to pay their workers and staff.

It is easy to understand why both management and the staff members hurried to buy gold, silver and US dollar notes, as well as commodities, when the cost of living index was announced at 1339. This explained the sudden jump of quotations on and after the afternoon of March 15.

During the period from March 9 to 16, the price of gold increased from GY310,000 to GY419,000 per ounce, while the US dollar note advanced from GY6,150 to GY8,350.

While there was a tendency to sell gold and buy commodities and to sell stocks and shares and buy gold during the past few weeks, there are now signs that many operators are shifting their attention once again to gold and US dollars because of the disturbing news of the concentration of large numbers of Communist troops along the northern bank of the Yangtze River and the rumored crossing of the river by small groups of Communists. Furthermore, the political situation in Nanking, following the resignation of Sun Fo, once again created a feeling of pessimism.

The price of silver dollars is greatly overvalued at the present time because of increasing demand for silver dollars on the part of the general public, especially ordinary workers and office clerks. Having no confidence in the Gold Yuan, they convert their wages and salaries immediately to silver dollars and then sell the dollars one by one as they need cash. Silver is proferred because silver dollars are cheaper than US dollars or gold, and members of the Yellow Ox Gang, who have conspicuous control of the silver dollar market, are therefore, enjoying a flourishing business.

During the past few days, there has been a very serious shortage of cash. Although GY1,000 denomination notes have been issued, very small sums have been available for Shanghai as most of the notes have been sent to outports. Meanwhile, because of the demand for notes in order to pay wages and salaries, premiums as high as 10 percent are paid for cash in the market.

Although the Central Bank authorities are reluctant to issue as many GY1,000 notes as are required, it is feared that, in the near future, Gold Yuan notes in denominations of GY10,000 will have to be issued, for as prices continue to increase, more and more cash notes will be required for business transactions.

At week's end, the money market turned comparatively easy, thus removing another check upon prices which began to climb rapidly. However, it was reported that the easy money situation was resulting in an increase in local bank deposits which were estimated to have reached the GY1,000,000,000 figure. A single grain of rice, according to newspaper reports from Hankow, was valued at GY1.80 in that city, thus illustrating graphically the decline in value of the Gold Yuan and emphasizing the need for larger denomination notes.

The tightness of money at the mid-week period could be seen from the interest market, where, it was said, GY10,000 loaned out with the interest compounded daily could be run up to GY174,496.45 in 30 days, an increase of 17 times.

The rapidly-mounting inflation has also increased the sum (in terms of GY notes) which the Shanghai tax collecting bureaus expect to obtain this month. One estimate predicted that Commodity Taxes in Shanghai during March will total more than GY5,000,000,000.

The following table gives a comparison of quotations on March 9 and March 16:

	Mar. 9 GY	Mar. 16 GY
Gold	310,000	419,000
US Dollar	6,150	8,350
Clearance Certificate	4,710	6,870
Silver Dollar	4,250	6,200
20's Yarn	1,080,000	1,375,000
Rice	29,500	43,500
Wing On Textile	5.38	6.41

NEWS OF THE WEEK

Gen. Ho Ying-chin New Premier; Will Push Army Reorganization

THE appointment of a top-flight army leader, General Ho Ying-chin, as President of the Executive Yuan in succession to Sun Fo has aroused considerable speculation about the future plans of the Nationalists. Some seem to think that Ho's acceptance of the premiership has strengthened the Nationalists' position in negotiating with the Chinese Communists. *AP* corresspondent James D. White held: "In securing General Ho's services as premier, Acting President Li Tsung-jen has got himself in a better position to speak for Nationalist China. At the same time, he has gained influence among military circles (partly through General Ho) and therefore political stature. This automatically increases his bargaining power at the peace conference table and the Communists may find him much less easy to deal with than he may have appeared at first."

Others are of the view that Ho's new appointment is part of the plan of the conservatives to prevent Acting President Li Tsung-jen from "selling out" to the Communists. It was rumored that Ho was chosen by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek from a list of four names submitted to him by Acting President Li Tsung-jen, the other three being General Chang Chun, General Chang Chih-chung and Shao Li-tze. It is significant to note that, immediately after the announcement of General Ho's new job, the Kuomintang-controlled press launched a vigorous campaign, pointing out that, in order to be able to cope with the present crisis, General Ho Ying-chin's new cabinet must be a truly responsible cabinet with complete freedom to make decisions and take actions in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution. Several papers advised the acting president and the Legislative Yuan to refrain from interfering in the selection of cabinet officers by the new premier.

* * *

Peace Or War?

GENERAL Ho Ying-chin's assumption of the premiership at the present time, according to well-informed sources, serves a double purpose. If peace with the Chinese Communists is possible, the new premier, in his two-fold capacity as a trusted subordinate of President Chiang Kai-shek and a close friend of Acting President Li Tsung-jen, is in a better position than any one else to secure the kind of peace that will be found acceptable by the conservatives and army generals, as well as by other factions of the Nationalists. In addition, he is better qualified to iron out any differences between the diehards and the liberal elements inside the Kuomintang.

If peace with the Communists is impossible and war is to be resumed, the new premier, who has a widely-respected seniority in Nationalist military circles, second in position only to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, is the best fitted to conduct the war. This is the reason why both responsible Government leaders and the Government-controlled press joined in playing up the reorganization of the Nationalist armies as one of the most important tasks confronting the new cabinet. It was stressed that the army reorganization is just as important as peace negotiations.

In the words of a competent observer, General Ho Ying-chin's new cabinet is one that is killing two birds with one stone. General Tang En-po, garrison commander for the Nanking-Shanghai-Hangchow area, told a press conference in Shanghai that it is the fixed policy of the Government to make war preparations in order to fight for peace. Therefore, the new premier, as a distinguished military leader, is expected to play an important part in the Government's militant peace preparations.

* * *

Political Reform

IN addition to peace negotiations and army reorganization, the new cabinet is expected to make a stab at instituting political reforms. The Legislative Yuan has already drafted a blue-print for reform and General Ho also is reported to have reiterated his dogged determination to do something in this respect.

There has been much talk of late about streamlining the Government machinery by closing down some of the overlapping and superfluous Government agencies. It is said that seven ministries will be abolished so that administrative efficiency may be improved.

The Chinese press claimed to have learned on good authority that the new cabinet is going to adopt Socialist measures on the British pattern. But when asked by newspaper correspondents for further clarification, General Ho replied that he had not yet given any serious thought to this matter.

The past two years have witnessed much similar talk about political reform. It remains to be seen whether anything concrete will come of it this time. Commenting on the prospects, the *United Press* wrote March 14 from Nanking:

"The Chinese Government appeared to be trying to supplement the cabinet change with another effort to clean up its own house and begin a new era in Chinese politics. . . Experienced observers, however, are viewing the current housecleaning move with reserve because attempts at drastic reforms have been discussed and made before, but without concrete results due to conflicting interests inside the Government."

* * *

No Future

POLITICALLY speaking, Sun Fo, after losing his job as president of the Executive Yuan, is down but not yet out. He is expected to return to Canton for a brief rest.

THE NEW PREMIER—A CHINESE VIEW

This cartoon, from the Shun Pao, shows Sun Fo leaving Nanking and Acting President Li Tsung-jen welcoming General Ho Ying-chin, the new premier, and Huang Hsao-hsiung to the capital. Across the Yangtze river are Communist guns.

Although the conservative elements in Canton have sustained a terrible defeat as the result of Sun Fo's resignation, they have not given up their fight. A so-called "safeguarding the constitution" movement has been initiated in Canton by a group of Government officials, legislators and National Assembly delegates. Whether Sun Fo's return to Canton will give fresh impetus to this movement remains to be seen. It is reported in the Chinese press that Sun will confer with Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek at Chikow before flying to Canton. Sun Fo, in an exclusive interview with the *United Press*, predicted that the new government to be formed by General Ho Ying-chin would meet "even worse difficulties" than the administration he led.

A *Reuter* story dated March 9 from Nanking added further light on this point. "Evidence that Kuomintang conservatives contemplated breaking away from Nanking was reported to be accumulating," the story said. "Conservative reaction to the ousting of Sun Fo, who stood for honorable peace, is that the new streamlined peace cabinet may accept the surrender terms at the projected peace negotiations with the Communists. A showdown, perhaps leading to a breakaway movement of the Canton rump government, is expected by some observers to come when the negotiations start."

The *Associated Press* could find no future for such a movement, should it materialize, saying: "Neither Sun nor any of his supporters have an army, which makes the chances of a successful fight against the Communists nil. The fighting war is over, foreign military men state flatly. They point out that even within Kwangtung province the Government has been barely able to hold its own against the Reds. In some areas southeast and on Hainan Island off the Kwangtung coast, Reds are effectively in control. Of the military units in Canton, many are just on paper and most are far under strength. If any stand is to be made in this area, the military say, it must be made by troops now in the north. These troops include about 225,000 under General Tang En-po in the Nanking-Shanghai area.

"Pai Chung-hsi reportedly sides with Li Tsung-jen in favor of a fight along the Yangtze River line. The future disposition of Tang's troops is not certain, but Tang is a Chiang Kai-shek man and Chiang is reported to be plugging for a southern stand.

One thing at least is certain, strategists say. If the Communists thrust southward, the entire Nationalist front will fall back toward the south and southwestern provinces The mountainous terrain to the southeast along the Fukien coast precludes any movement in that direction. But under the best conditions it would be six months before the Communists could hope to reach Kwangtung," they add.

* * *

US Aid

A GROUP of 50 US senators back a proposal sponsored by Senator Pat McCarren to grant US$1,500,000,000 in new United States military and economic aid to Nationalist China. McCarren indicated he would demand a showdown on the issue before Congress acts on the US$2,000,000,000 arms for Europe program now being blueprinted to back up the North Atlantic security pact. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee asked Secretary of State Dean Acheson to spell out his ideas on stopping Communism in China before seeking American arms shipments to bolster Europe against the threat of Communist aggression.

It was noted that Acheson had already informed a group of House Republicans interested in aid to China that the situation in China's civil war was far too "fluid" to permit definitive American policy. He advocated a wait and see approach. But with the arms for Europe program scheduled to reach Congress soon, McCarren and his supporters feel they are in a position to demand and get a positive China program.

It is understood that the State Department is preparing a report which will probably indicate America's future policy toward China.

In Nanking, a proposal sponsored by a large group of legislators to refuse American aid has been dropped under Government pressure. It was stressed that such a resolution, if adopted, would seriously affect the prospects for any American aid to this country.

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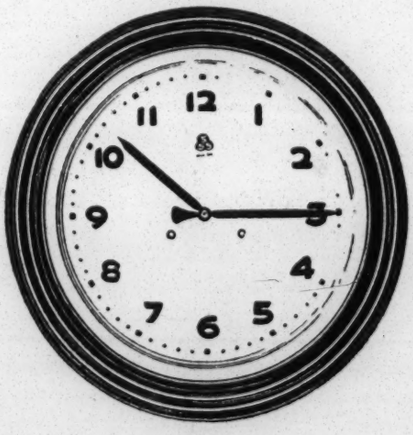

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The Review's English Lesson—LXXIV

MR. JO-SAN CHEN, of Yenchow, has sent in some words and phrases he would like to have explained. Some are difficult to make out, since they are out of context (given as single words or phrases only, without the whole sentence); we urge all readers who send in lists of terms, to write out the whole sentence (or clause), underlining the word or phrase to be explained.

* * *

Shroff: A word of Arabic origin (sarraf), used extensively in the East to denote a banker, clerk, changer of money, etc.

Foxhole: A small trench dug by soldiers as a protection against enemy air attacks.

Flak: Anti-aircraft fire.

Frisco: A slangy abbreviation for San Francisco. Also written "'Frisco."

Bomb bay: The cavity in the belly, or under side, of a bombing plane where the bombs to be dropped are hung.

Philadelphia: The chief city of Pennsylvania, on the Delaware River. The name means "City of Brotherly Love."

Goofy: A slang term meaning foolish, silly or gullible. A "goof" is such a person; the adverb is "goofily."

Wanna: (See also the three following expressions)—an attempt to reproduce careless or hasty speech by the use of phonetic spelling. The word stands for "want to"; thus, "I wanna go home." It seems easier to slide over the "t", using only the "n" sound, and to let the final "o" sound as a flat "ah". This is, of course, not a "word" in good usage.

Fella: As above, this stands for "fellow"; again, the final "oh" sound is more difficult to produce than "ah", so in careless or uneducated speech many words ending in "o" or "oh" are said as if they ended in "ah".

Kinda: This reproduces the phrase "kind of". Here, the elision is the word "of", which becomes merely an "ah" sound. "I think she's kinda nice."

I'd've: Represents "I would have". The contraction of "I would" to "I'd" is of course now accepted; but the contraction of "have" to "ah" is considered vulgar, very poor speech.

Take it all in: "To take in" means either to admit, receive (as a guest, or wanderer), or to absorb, comprehend (as a lecture, news, etc.) "Take it all in" has the latter meaning.

Spill the beans: To give away, as a secret, usually inadvertently. "The surprise party was spoiled because he spilled the beans"—because he revealed the plan to the one who was to be surprised.

A blind date: A "date" is either one's partner or companion for an evening or outing; "blind" means unseen: hence, someone who has been asked by a friend to accompany you, but whom you do not know. Or, the outing or evening itself.

Huh! is used to express contempt or disdain.

* * *

WE cannot identify "canotite" or "vermol's." Perhaps if Mr. Chen will supply the context we shall be able to help him out. A letter has been received, which contains some grammatical faults. We hope the writer will forgive our use of his letter as a text for part of this Lesson.

Expect: "To expect" takes a direct object. "Do you expect mail today?"

Information: Unless there is some special case which we cannot bring to mind at the moment, this word should be singular. Do not say, "get some informations"; information is an overall, inclusive concept. You either get information or you do not. It is permissible to say, "several different kinds of information". The same applies to "staff"; this word is often incorrectly used in the plural. "Staff" is a collective noun, denoting the several individuals employed in a factory or office. When this group in a single office is meant, use the word in the singular. Of course, in the special case where many separate offices are concerned, one could say, "the staffs of all the steamship companies walked out yesterday."

* * *

MR. Chin Wei-fong, of Nanking, asks the following questions:

Hippocratic code: Also, "Hippocratic oath": The oath, embodying a code of medical ethics, generally sworn to by recipients of the M.D. degree.

Gentlemen Prefer Blondes: This is the title of a frothy and very popular book which appeared in the US when we were very young; in our hazy recollection, it dealt with the adventures of a couple of chorus girls and their sugar daddies in Paris and along the Riviera in the heedless 'twenties'. It's by Anita Loos, if Mr. Chin wants to look it up, but we don't think it's very important.

Gossip: The quotation submitted is, "We have what is called gossip, in which persons are very real and everything **either creeps or crawls or marries.**" Gossip is idle tattle, usually although not always malicious, concerning the petty or intimate details, real or imagined, of one's friends, enemies, or public figures. We have an idea that the phrase tries to illustrate the idea of gossip: odious little creatures creep and crawl, and people marry—and thus provide the raw material for gossip.

Chinese Magazine Roundup

Newsland

IN spite of all the talk about peace, an undercurrent movement against peace is still strong in Nationalist China. The *Newsland* magazine of March 10 warns Acting President Li Tsung-jen that his present peace efforts may very likely result in his being made a sacrifice on the altar of peace.

According to the magazine, the pro-peace group in Nanking is making use of the peace movement to strengthen the position of Li Tsung-jen at the expense of Chiang Kai-shek. "The group has been busy since the return of Dr. W. W. Yen's peace mission from Peiping," the magazine says. "Let us see what they have been doing. 1) They are trying to find a way to take off the word 'acting' from Li Tsung-jen's title as Acting President. 2) They are thinking of some way to send President Chiang Kai-shek abroad. 3) They are planning to turn Chiang's troops into Li's troops. 4) They are trying to persuade the Chinese Communists to accept the democratic elements inside the Kuomintang, that is, the elements under the leadership of Li Tsung-jen, as political friends in the joint reconstruction of China."

The magazine further charges that the movement now under way to get rid of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek has profound political significance.

"Why should they want to have the word 'acting' deleted from Li Tsung-jen's official title?" it asks. "With the President still in China, he cannot but feel concerned over some of the measures the Acting President has taken. Furthermore, the continued presence of the President in China can always be taken to mean that the danger of a renewal of the fighting is not definitely ruled out. On this point, it is necessary to erase the modifier 'acting' from Li's official title before the confidence of the Chinese Communists can be gained.

"The next logical step is to ask the President to go abroad. From the standpoint of the constitution, it is more significant for the President to go abroad than to step down. As long as the President retains his concurrent post as director-general of the Kuomintang, he is legally entitled to direct the political activities of all party members. But the moment he leaves China for a foreign land, a new director-general of the Kuomintang will have to be elected. It is with this possibility in mind that elder statesman Yu Yu-jen, President of the Control Yuan, is being kept available. If President Chiang went abroad, Yu Yu-jen would be elected director-general of the Kuomintang. For all his age, Yu is definitely progressive in thought. With such a man at the helm of the Kuomintang, Li Tsung-jen would be assured of a free hand in conducting State affairs."

The magazine holds that the appointment of General Ho Ying-chin as the President of the Executive Yuan is a clever move by Li Tsung-jen to strengthen his control over the Government troops in order to curry favor with the Communists.

"In negotiating for peace," the magazine says, "the thing most expected of Li Tsung-jen by the Chinese Communists is for Li to hand over a certain number of Government troops to be reorganized and incorporated into the Communist armies. As the negligible number of Kwangsi troops under Li Tsung-jen hardly satisfies the Communists, and inasmuch as the Communists still think highly of Chiang's troops, the Chinese Communists hope that Li Tsung-jen will tighten his control over the Government troops in order to facilitate the forthcoming peace negotiations. This is the reason why Li Tsung-jen wanted the cooperation of General Ho Ying-chin."

The purchasing power of a Chinese professor's salary is portrayed in this cartoon from the Shun Pao.

Li Tsung-jen's policy, the magazine says, thus would facilitate the Communist domination of the whole of China and Li would have no one but himself to blame if he also became a victim some day.

"As things stand now," the article concludes, "we can expect that peace negotiations will eventually take place, but it is also certain that they will break off as soon as a certain stage is reached. After that, armed conflict will ensue. In the opinion of a qualified observer, the peace talks will be carried on only up to the time when the Kwangsi faction of the Kuomintang has become strong enough, when the Communists have completed all their necessary preparations, and when Nanking and Shanghai can be 'liberated' without a fight.

". . . In negotiating with Li Tsung-jen for peace, the Communists are seeking to work the mind of Li to such a state that he will be ready to do anything just for the sake of peace. And it looks as if Li ultimately will be made a sacrifice on the altar of peace."

Since the *Newsland* magazine is generally regarded as having a powerful background, its views on Li Tsung-jen's peace efforts are believed to be particularly significant.

* * *

World Culture

COMMENTING on the appointment of General Dwight Eisenhower as special consultant and chairman of the US Chiefs of Staff, the *World Culture* of March 5 declares that the appointment is connected with the projected Atlantic pact.

"It can be seen," the paper writes, "that after the conclusion of the Atlantic Pact, there is every possibility that General Eisenhower will be named to command the armies of the Atlantic Pact nations."

According to the journal, the reasons why an American general should be appointed as commander-in-chief under the Atlantic Pact are as follows:

1) It is the United States that will bear the burden of supplying the total armaments for the defense of Europe.

2) The United States will maintain complete control of the strategic air command.

3) An American general would be the only one in such a command who would not be looking elsewhere for arms.

Continuing its analysis, the magazine says: "The first point indicates that the Atlantic Pact is financed by the United States, which naturally has the right to control everything. The second point shows that the Atlantic Pact nations, particularly those in Western Europe, will have to obey the orders of the United States and let their territories be used as bases for strategic bombing operations. The third point is obvious. It shows that the boss is eager to hold his purse strings as tight as possible.

"Why has President Truman brought back to active service this 'retired' general, who is President of Columbia University? It is because Eisenhower was a distinguished general in World War II and he enjoys a high reputation in political and military circles in the United States. He has assumed a false democratic front so that he is able to command a following. Finally, he is in a position to restrain the ambitious military leaders.

"During the presidential elections last year, General Eisenhower declined to run and the American press was full of praise for his statesmanlike attitude. But deep-thinking critics pointed out that it was a gesture to serve ulterior purposes. In the eyes of American monopolistic capitalists, Eisenhower is their last trump card, to be reserved for future use. Now this card is being used to build up a new military fascism."

US Magazine Roundup

Pacific Affairs

A REPORT on communism in China, prepared by Subcommittee No. 5 (on National and International Movements) of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the US House of Representatives, is reviewed by M.F.M. Lindsay in the March issue of *Pacific Affairs*. The report is entitled "The Strategy and Tactics of World Communism."

Lindsay says it "presents a general thesis on communism in China and United States policy towards China in the form of a rather rambling account of recent Chinese history and of some aspects of China and Chinese communism."

His review continues: "The general thesis is comparatively simple: Communism in China is the same as Communism in any other part of the world. Its aims are to secure absolute power and to set up a totalitarian police state.

"There are various reasons which make Communism and the Russian system more attractive to the Far East than to the West. But even so, Communism in China has serious weaknesses, in particular its inability to provide any solution for the fundamental agrarian problem. . . .

"United States policy towards China was completely mistaken in trying to secure a coalition government with Communist participation. This would only have led to Communist seizure of power, as in Eastern Europe. Luckily, Chiang Kai-shek had enough experience of Communism to refuse to be pushed into such a fatal step. But while the United States failed to give effective support to the National Government, Russian intervention in Manchuria gave enough help to the Communists to alter the whole balance of power.

"The one-and-a-half billion population of the Far East are not, as yet, committed either to Communism or to Democracy and their role may be decisive in the struggle for the world. The United States should, therefore, take active measures to help China in defeating Communism and in making the social and economic changes necessary for development towards democracy . . .

"As the report is presumably intended to give background information to members of the Foreign Affairs Committee it does not commit itself to specific recommendations for United States policy but it favors economic assistance to China, greatly increased military aid in the form of equipment and supplies, and a United States 'guaranty of territorial and political integrity' (pp. 55-57). . . .

"The report is of considerable interest for an understanding of the forces influencing American foreign policy and for the study of the psychology of political extremism; but it is too confused to be taken seriously as a study of Communism in China.

"The best section of the report is probably the study of New Democracy as a Communist document. It is called 'the most important Communist writing produced outside of the Soviet Union since before the Russian revolution,' but its novelty is said to be entirely in the technique proposed for the seizure of power, not in any modification of the orthodox Communist drive for uncontrolled power and opposition to constitutional democracy. The report makes its case against the view that New Democracy represented a development incompatible with orthodox Communism, but even here the analysis is somewhat distorted. By leaving out of consideration all of Mao Tse-tung's important writings since 1940, it fails to do justice to some important and unique elements in his thought—his emphasis on respect for popular opinion and criticism of authoritarianism and his views that objectivity is a virtue in thought and subjectivity vice.

"The general level of confusion in most of the report can be seen from the argument, apparently quite serious, that the Japanese invasion of 1937 was the result of a Communist plot to divert pressure from Russia. In later sections the Subcommittee sees no inconsistency in praising Chiang Kai-shek for refusing to be forced into cooperation with the Communists and in blaming the Communists for the failure of American mediation.

"The basic weakness of the Communists is said to be their inability to solve the agrarian problem, but the facts are never considered. It is asserted that Communist agrarian policy has always been simply redistribution of land and that this inevitably reduces food production. There is no attempt to criticize the Communist claims to have increased food production through the greater incentives of the peasant who can retain the whole of any increase in product, through introducing better methods of cultivation through extending cooperation, etc. There is no attempt to examine or refute the evidence indicating increased production in areas where the effects of redistribution were not obscured by local fighting (e.g., Yenan between 1936 and 1947 and Manchuria after 1946). Certain statements (p. 20) show that the Subcommittee does not even know what Communist land policy was between 1937 and 1946.

"The true statement that the Chinese Communist Party has followed the twists of the Moscow line on world affairs is supported by the completely false assertion that '. . . from 1939 to 1941 the Chinese Communists slackened their efforts against Japan' (p. 1). In fact, the biggest and most costly attempt at a general offensive against Japanese-held railways and strong points was the 'Hundred Regiment Campaign' in the summer of 1940. . .

* * *

"THE commonest failing in the report is distortion by omission. On point after point the argument depends on the omission of relevant facts. For example, '. . . What was the effect of Soviet intervention in the Far East on the balance of forces in China? The answer cannot be precise, but it can be remarkably simple. A little before the close of the Second World War the Chinese Red army numbered about half a million men, with not quite enough arms to go around. Now their numbers are just about three times as great, and they have more than enough weapons. The acquisition of Japanese arms. . .' (p. 36). If, in accordance with the facts, 'captured American' is inserted before 'weapons,' the whole argument becomes ridiculous. Similar insertions of relevant but omitted facts would make nonsense of a great deal of the account of the Marshall mediation and Truce Agreement. . .

"The confusion is at its worst when the report considers American policy and the alternatives to Communism. Vague generalization is combined with avoidance of almost every practical question. American attempts to secure a coalition government are criticized on the grounds that governments should be based on 'majority will' and not on a 'straight political deal' (pp. 44-46). No hint is given of how majority will could have been determined in a country that had never held a free election . . .

"Psychologically, the report is a good example of the way in which fear leads to a flight from reality and rational thought. The Subcommittee seems to be so much in the grip of terror at the spread of Communism that it is unable to face either the elements of real strength in Chinese Communism or the weaknesses of the anti-Communist forces in China.

"If the report reaches China, it will probably be used to provide confirmation of the charges made by Communist anti-American propaganda. But what it really illustrates is the element of pure confusion in American foreign policy. The American political system is not monolithic. However well informed the Secretary of State and the Department of State, and however correct the policies they wish to pursue, they have to work with the Congressional committees on foreign affairs. The report shows the extent to which this may make policy dependent on distorted information and unreasoning prejudice."

What Chinese Papers Say

THE Chinese press hailed General Ho Ying-chin, the new premier, as the right man for the right job under the present circumstances. Kuomintang papers expressed hope that he would be able to form a "truly responsible" cabinet without any interference from the acting president or the Legislative Yuan and that he could strengthen the military position of the Nationalists. Independent papers suggested that the first thing the new cabinet should do is to bring about peace with the Chinese Communists.

* * *

New Cabinet

THE *Shun Pao* advised General Ho to form a cabinet that is responsible both in name and in fact, saying:

"That in all these years China has failed to make political progress is chiefly due to the fact that China has failed to establish a political system that is compatible with the requirements of the current age. China today claims to be enforcing a constitution, and the Constitution of the Republic of China clearly stipulates that the Executive Yuan is in the nature of a responsible Cabinet. . .

"In the process of the formation of the responsible cabinet, not only the Legislative Yuan or the legislators individually have no right to interfere with the President of the Executive Yuan in selecting his cabinet ministers, but even the President should not express his likes and dislikes in the matter. . . .

"We believe that at the present moment when all quarters are demanding the effective enforcement of a responsible cabinet system, Acting President Li Tsung-jen, as well as the members of the Legislative Yuan, will place full confidence in General Ho and give him full freedom in the choice of his ministers prior to his assumption of office. We express the hope that this will mark the beginning of the implementation of a sound political system. We wish to ask General Ho to respect his personal prestige, status, authority, and responsibility, and to proceed in an impartial manner to select the talent for his government. We hope that he will refrain from following the practice of former Premiers who had to 'ask for instructions' here, and to 'act in accordance with orders' there. In attending to administrative affairs, as long as his policies have been agreed to by the Legislative Yuan, he must proceed to carry them out in a responsible manner. He must not, and should not, shirk his responsibility by saying that he is 'asking for instructions' or 'acting in accordance with orders.'"

In addition, the paper advised the new premier to be "realistic," declaring: "Our stress on realism does not imply that we poohpooh idealism. What are driving at is that one's ideals must not be far removed from reality . . . Today it is up to China's statesmen to do their utmost to implement reforms and achieve progress on the basis of the current military, political and economic situations in this country."

The *Ta Kung Pao* opined that making peace with the Communists should be given top priority by General Ho's new cabinet. "Peace is the unanimous demand of the people throughout the whole country," the paper said. "Peace is also the sole mission entrusted to the new cabinet. The people want to live, and only with the realization of peace will the people's aspirations be met."

Apart from peace-making, how to institute badly-needed political reform and improve administrative efficiency is also very important, the paper added, saying:

"In the second place, it is also generally expected that the new Cabinet will carry out political reform. Corruption and inefficiency have been prevailing for such a long time it will not be easy to improve the whole situation all at once. And yet it is necessary for the new cabinet to be determined to undertake this task with a free hand. We do not advocate that severe disciplinary measures should be employed, but rather that the Government should seek the cooperation of the people. The simplest step toward cooperation will be the granting of freedom of speech to the people. We consider that the press censorship carried out during the War of Resistance provided an incentive for corruption. At that time the censorship authorities generally prohibited the publication by newspapers of reports exposing cases of corruption on the ground that they would 'reveal the weakness of the Government.' Corrupt officials were thus given encouragement and, in the course of a few years, corruption became a prevalent practice which could no longer be checked. The new Cabinet must call to mind this war-time episode and allow the people to enjoy full freedom of speech, and give protection to newspapers and publications so that they may be saved from the oppression of evil influences.

"In the third place, the simplication of the administrative machinery is an urgent necessity. The administrative organs are not only too numerous, but also confusing. There is a great amount of duplication and conflict in duties. The State Treasury is called upon to pay large sums for administrative expenditure, but the public functionaries are underpaid. If the administrative organs are not reorganized and reduced, political reform will remain an empty phrase."

* * *

US Dilemma

THE *Tung Nan Jih Pao* warned that United States policy in Japan may turn out to be as much of a failure as in China.

"As a result of the rapid expansion of the influence of the Chinese Communists in Continental Asia," the paper said, "the United States has been forced to review her post-war world policy, especially her Asia policy centered around the Japan problem. With the Army Department repeatedly stressing the need to use the main military strength of the United States to cope with the situation in West Europe, even General MacArthur, who is noted for his strong self-confidence, has found himself in a dilemma in dealing with Japan.

"The trends of the Japanese domestic situation during the past two or three months clearly indicate that the US Far East policy pursued during the last three years, particularly the policy in relation to the occupation of Japan, has definitely reached the brink of failure. If this situation continues, and the infantile and short-sighted American military, political and diplomatic leaders do not come to a thorough awakening and effect a change in their policy, then in the same way as US China policy has failed, US Japan occupation policy will also meet a disastrous failure."

For this, the Americans have no one but themselves to blame, the paper maintained, saying:

"On the surrender of Japan, SCAP was in a position to enforce thorough social reform to lead Japan onto the road of genuine democracy and peace. It was a pity, however, that from the very beginning the monopolistic capitalists of the United States gave thought only to the fostering and utilization of Japan. As a result, the conservative influences in that country have been preserved intact and the sufferings of the majority of the people have not been alleviated. With the increasing difficulties in the post-war economic situation, the conflict between the propertied class and the workers has also become more acute. Yet General MacArthur has consistently pursued a high-handed policy which ignores even the legitimate rights of the working classes, with the result that the influence of the Japanese Communist Party is growing. The phenomenal gain of the Communists in the seats in the Diet during the last general elections in Japan fully reflected the opposition of the general Japanese public to the US occupation policy. At the moment, all Japanese, including the most reactionary political influences, have begun to express their dissatisfaction with this occupation policy."

What US Papers Say

EUROPE continued to be the dominent subject in American editorial coverage, with special attention paid to the Atlantic Pact. The resignation of Sun Fo and treatment accorded the press in China also evoked some comment.

* * *

Atlantic Pact

THE *Philadelphia Inquirer* found the Atlantic pact brought on by the menace of Soviet Russia and warned Americans to understand thoroughly its significance. The editorial said in part:

"In many respects the Atlantic security pact, already informally approved by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, is an expression of the unity of the North Atlantic Nations, brought about now by the inescapable facts of the Soviet menace.

"But when it is ratified the pact will commit this nation to further steps and potential obligations which should be thoroughly understood in advance by the American public as well as by both Houses of Congress.

"If there were danger, as its opponents charge, that the pact would make war inevitable, virtually all Americans would be against it. But to hold this view would be to abandon the idea that wars can be prevented by foreseeing the peril and taking positive steps in time to avert armed conflict.

"There are, however, risks in any such enterprise. In this case, the Soviets have made it plain that they don't like the pact and will not welcome subsequent moves, clearly implied, to build up and merge the military strength of the free nations of Europe. It is not inevitable, or even probable, but it is certainly possible that Soviet reaction to the pact might be to engage in overt acts.

"This risk must be realized by Congress and by the public. And it must be weighed against the stated purpose of the pact, which is to so increase the collective strength of the North Atlantic nations that the Soviets will find it unwise to do anything that carries with it the likelihood of war . . .

"That entry into this alliance for the next 20 years binds us closer to Europe than before appears beyond doubt. It is a step beyond the economic involvement undertaken in the Marshall Plan and it may well call for the United States, as a major power and key member of the alliance, to take decisive stands on questions of relations among European members."

The *New York Times* said in part:

"The real purpose of the pact goes beyond defense. For its ultimate aim is to restore a balance of power in the world which will not only discourage aggression but also pave the way toward real peace. It is designed to lift from the world the terrifying sense of insecurity and thereby promote both economic and political recovery. By balancing Russian strength with Western strength, it is intended to persuade Russia to come to terms and to establish at least the same kind of modus vivendi between itself and the rest of the world that enabled both sides to live in peace after the revolutionary wave had exhausted itself following the first world war. Once peace has been established between Russia and the West there is hope that, with French security assured, a way will be found to conclude a formal peace with our former enemies, Germany and Japan. . . ."

* * *

Sun Fo's Resignation

NO real significance was seen by the *Washington Post* in the resignation of Premier Sun Fo and his cabinet. The editorial, titled "Eclipse in China," said:

"The resignation of Premier Sun Fo and his entire Cabinet seems to have come as something of a surprise to Nanking. But its suddenness gives it no particular significance. Sun apparently knew he faced an overwhelming opposition in the Legislative Yuan and took the face-saving way of resigning before he was voted out, although he had stoutly denied up to the last that he had any such intention. In fact, it is hard to be sure that Sun's departure has any real significance at all.

"Insofar as Sun and Acting President Li Tsung-jen were at odds on the timing and urgency of peace negotiations with the Communists, there may now be some change of atmosphere in Nanking. Li is supposed to be in favor of opening immediate talks on terms not so stiff as Sun desired. But the Communists have given every overt indication of caring nothing about making peace for the moment. Partly, they have asserted the absence of any real government in Nanking they could negotiate with; partly, they have probably felt that the increasing cleavages in Nanking would eventually throw the situation into their hands anyway; and partly they have not wanted to take responsibility for feeding the populations of the large cities, a task beyond their present resources.

"There have been some indications, such as the appearance at Nanking of provincial leaders who had declined to come at Chiang's behest, of a new coalescense around the Acting President. If a strong enough group congeals on the lines indicated, Li's bargaining position may thereby gain some strength. It will, however, need an infusion beyond present probabilities to overcome the fundamental ineptitude and corruption of the Kuomintang."

Press Suppression

THE *New York Herald Tribune* commented on the Nationalists' jailing of a Nanking editor and speculated on what the Chinese Communists would do in a similar situation. The editorial read:

"An editor in Nanking, Kung Teh-po, has been thrown into jail for saying in his newspaper that Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek should abandon his secret interference in Government affairs and should make his 'retirement' a reality by going abroad. Kung merely expressed a point of view widely held in China, but in doing so he had courage to ignore the fact that freedom of the press does not exist in his country. As he displayed his courage in Nationalist territory, he probably will suffer nothing beyond a short term in prison. If he had displayed equal temerity in Communist territory, by suggesting that Mao Tze-tung get out of China, the consequences might have been more serious.

"The record of the Nationalist Government in China on freedom of the press is by no means perfect but is considerably better than that of the Communists. In provincial cities there often has been much forthright criticism of Nationalist officials. Even in the capitals, Chungking and then Nanking, the Government has permitted mild criticism most of the time and strong criticism occasionally. The Communists, of course, have acted like communists elsewhere. In regions they have controlled, no public criticism of Communist dogma or of top Communist leaders has been allowed.

"Americans should realize, however, that the contrast between the Government and the Communists on this issue seems more important to them than it does to most Chinese. There is no tradition of freedom of the press in China. Freedom of expression rarely has been tolerated there by Emperors or by war lords, or even by officials describing themselves as believers in democracy. While some intellectuals have shown real enthusiasm for democratic ideals, the people as a whole, mostly illiterate, have shown far more interest in filling their rice bowls than in seeking such rights as freedom of the press.

"It is doubtful, indeed, that Western theories of government can take root in China as long as most of the Chinese have barely enough food for existence and as long as so many of them—estimates run as high as a million—die of starvation in a normal year. Forms of government that give maximum freedom to individuals seem to thrive best where food is not too scarce and where the ordinary man does not have to use all his energy just to feed and clothe himself and his family."

NEW BOOKS OF INTEREST

Chinese Attitudes

AMERICANS IN CHINA: SOME CHINESE VIEWS, *by Thurston Griggs, Foundation for Foreign Affairs Pamphlet, No. 5. Washington, D.C. Foundation for Foreign Affairs, 1948. 59 pages. U.S.$ .75. Reviewed by F.M.R.*

The author of this study has used the Peiping newspapers to show Chinese attitudes in 1947 toward American policy and Americans generally. The year 1947 was selected as a year in which attention was focussed on a number of domestic problems. Disillusionment with postwar Kuomintang policy had become general. Inflation was rapid and economic conditions were worsening. American troops were in some cases behaving badly, giving occasion for hostile Chinese opinion. The enemies of the Kuomintang were angry because of American support given to the regime. "In order to attack the Kuomintang," says the author, "the parties opposed to the Government felt obliged to become anti-American in their progaganda." American policy became a political football.

The Peiping newspapers of 1947 followed a paradoxical policy. "The Nationalist regime was recognized by the United States as the *de facto* and *de jure* government of China . . . the US military units were still helping to train the Army and Navy . . . Loans of a minor sort had been extended to it." Nevertheless, during this period the Nationalist and pro-Nationalist press, says Mr. Griggs, constantly expressed Chinese antipathy towards foreigners. This hostility was organized for political ends. The author treats, therefore, the recall of General Marshall and the sending of the Wedemeyer mission in some detail to show how the propaganda was developed.

The pamphlet makes a valuable beginning in the study of the postwar Chinese press. The various political interest groups within the Kuomintang are seen by the author as using their newspapers merely as a mouthpiece for "the desire of their sponsors to influence current developments, or more frequently to justify positions or actions already taken. The collection and presentation of news are wholly secondary functions." The author says of the leading daily newspapers in Peiping in 1947 two were government organs, four were army-sponsored, seven represented Kuomintang cliques and four were independent, though uncritical of the Government.

The author seems to contradict himself when on the one hand he describes the press of China as the voice merely of the ruling class, with but slight influence on the popular mind, yet on the other hand concludes that the Chinese press, taken in the aggregate, and despite the censorship, is a "source of information as reliable in its own way as the syndicated news upon which the rest of the world depends."

River Craft

THE JUNKS AND SAMPANS OF THE YANGTZE, *by G.R.C. Worcester. Printed and Published at the Statistical Department of the Inspectorate of Customs, Shanghai, 1948. 506 pages; illustrated. Reviewed by A.H.H.*

This scholarly and detailed treatise, together with the author's "Junks and Sampans of the Upper Yangtze" and "Notes on the Crooked-bow and Crooked-stern Junks of Szechwan," provide a painstaking and thorough treatment of indigeous shipping along the Yangtze River and its tributaries. This is not the type of book which one might select to read through in an evening; it contains a veritable wealth of information which is presented in a lucid and readable style.

As the author points out in the first paragraph: "To the stranger it might seem that all junks are alike. This is not the case, for nearly every waterside town and many a village has developed its own ideas of ornamentation or construction; consequently there is a very great variety in the design of hull and sail. Even where differences appear insignificant, they present no possibility of confusion to the junkmen, to whom the part of origin of each craft is at once clear from her appearance." These differences are scientifically demonstrated in almost 200 full page scale plans of junks and a number of photographs and sketches. Excellent detailed maps of various sections of the Yangtze and tributaries are provided.

This is much more than a technical exposition on various types of junks; the socialegical aspect of junk life and its effect on those who live it is dwelt upon at length. As Mr. Worcester sets forth in the Epilogue, his self-imposed task was "to try and bring to the notice of the scholarly classes of Chinese people the valour and worth of a little-known community of simple, unlettered, yet highly skilled people. For generations they have cheerfully and unquestionably accepted a life of unmitigated hardship, and it is surely time some acknowledgement was made of their hardihood and resourceful ingenuity in the face of difficulty, privation and danger." He is a keen observer, and his observations are backed by over a quarter of a century's service in the River Inspectorate of the Chinese Maritime Customs.

For anyone interested in ships, "The Junks and Sampans of the Yangtze" is an encyclopedia of information. It is a significant book, too, in its accurate and thorough treatment of the historical and sociological background of what is still the most important means of transportation in China, river shipping.

Oceanography

THIS GREAT WIND AND SEA. *By Robert E. Coker. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1947. 325 pages, illustrations, photographs, index. U.S.-$5.00. Reviewed by F.M. Roberts.*

Mr. Coker, himself a man of the sea and a teacher of aquatic biology in the United States, has written a fascinating non-technical book on a subject which literally covers three-quarters of this planet. The book is not merely a compilation of interesting and startling facts about the sea—though it is certainly that—but as one reads it he is impressed by the dependence of mankind upon the sea. The sense of the essential unity of all creation permeates the book as the author gives his vision of the interrelation of physical, chemical, dynamic and biological phenomena. The book may perhaps be used as a reference or textbook, but it is interesting enough to go on the shelf with travel books.

Oceanography is a new science to most people. Explorers and mariners from the time of Babylonia until now have been adding to the knowledge of the sea. Oceanography goes beyond the knowledge of navigation. It is a study of the sea in all its aspects, and as such it is a correlation of various sciences—geography geology, physics, chemistry and biology, along with some astronomy and "mathematics unlimited." In all fields of the national sciences it is, in fact, becoming more difficult to draw a sharp line between the different standard divisions but this is especially true in respect to a study of the oceans. Scarcely any phenomenon of the sea is capable of satisfactory analysis without coordination of the fundamental natural sciences. Material therefore which would be scattered through many books is brought together here in highly usable form. The reviewer has found some of the chapters well adapted to advanced courses in economic geography.

A few chapter headings will suggest some of the ground covered: Beginnings of Oceanography; Sea Water in Motion; Drifting Life; Life on the Bottom; Life at Large. There is a generous collection of full page photographs and of diagrams to illustrate machines and techniques used in the study of the ocean.

In the war years a growing sea-consciousness has been forced upon the world. Here is a book which will reinforce that consciousness with information.

TRANSPORT
WHEN YOU'VE GOT A TOUGH TRUCKING JOB
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Firestone builds the best truck tires on the market today. And there is a Firestone truck tire for every road, load and condition of service. Here's why truck owners choose Firestone tires for their trucks:
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• Duraflex Construction bands tread and cord body together so that they flex in one integral unit.
• Gum-Dipped cord fabric insures cooler running temperatures in cord body.
• Two extra plies under the tread cushion the tire against road impact.
These extra construction features add up to extra thousands of miles and lower costs which you put Firestone tires on your trucks.
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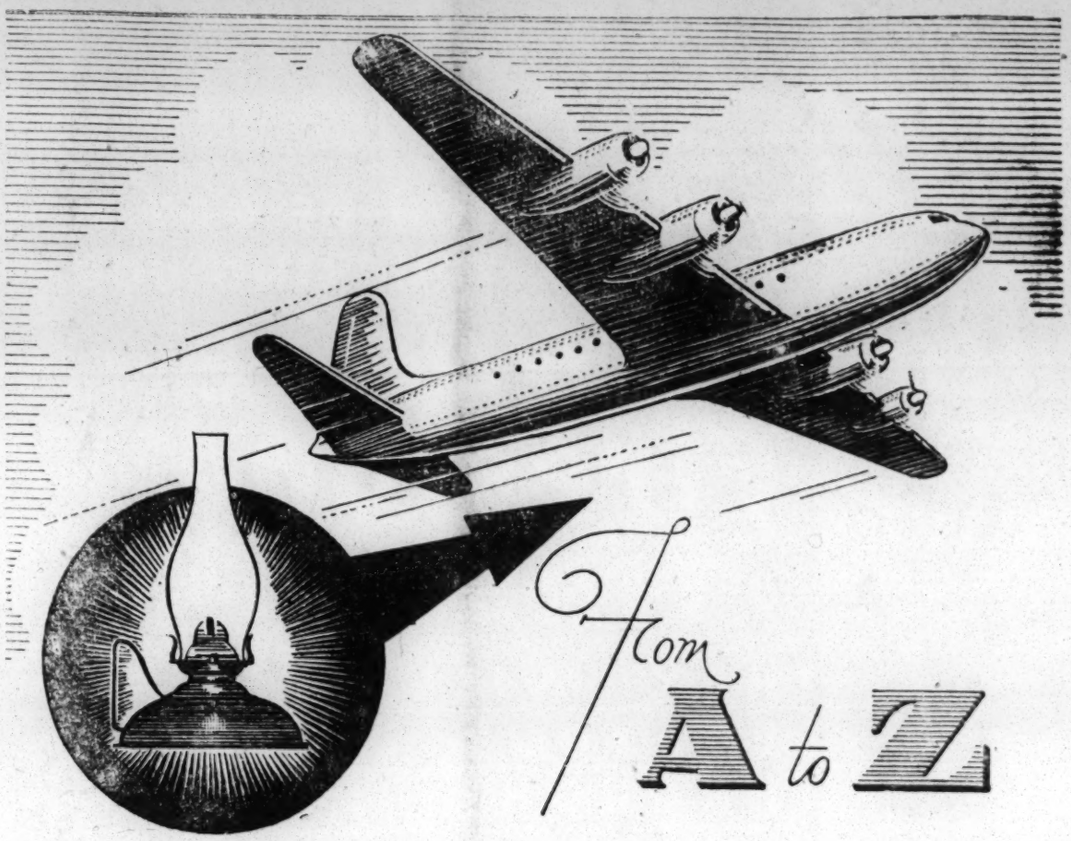

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